

MURDER OF FRED HAMPTON DETAILED

SEE PAGE 3

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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25¢



Courtroom Statement By Johnny Spain At S.Q.6 Sentencing

"THIS TRIAL WILL NOT STOP US"



"I reject this insane tradition. . . . I have all of the future standing with me—the children—to resist what we as a people are no longer willing to tolerate." **JOHNNY SPAIN**



BPINS photo

(San Rafael, Calif.) - Chained and shackled to his chair as he had been from the beginning of the lengthy proceedings, separated from his friends and supporters by a vision-distorting plexiglass wall, San Quentin 6 defendant and Black Panther Party member Johnny Larry Spain last Friday nonetheless transcended the gross inhumanity of his situation in delivering one of the most eloquent and forceful courtroom condemnations of the American judicial system heard in modern times.

As expected, when Spain concluded, he was sentenced to two terms of life in prison for surviving the August 21, 1971, incident in which his closest comrade, Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson, was assassinated.

Convicted along with two other defendants on August 12 following a trial which his attorney, Charles Garry, loudly protests was "not fair and impartial," Spain, 27, was sentenced on Friday, October 1, to two terms of life imprisonment for the alleged murder of two White San Quentin guards and five to 10 years for the charge of conspiracy to escape. The life terms will run concurrently, while the conspiracy charge was stayed, pending appeal.

In a surprise move — obviously designed to create a semblance of justice but which literally shocked the entire courtroom — presiding trial judge Henry Broderick announced a suspended sentence and three years' probation for defendant David Johnson. The judgement raises the possibility that Johnson, 29, who

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Editorial

ANDREW YOUNG: HISTORY WILL NOT ABSOLVE THIS "BLACK MESSIAH"

By Elaine Brown, Chairperson, Black Panther Party

Seeing the man, one of the chosen few who had walked with Martin, I was overwhelmed with dismay. Was this what it had come to: was this why the blood had been shed? Andrew Young spoke eloquently to a select gathering of Oakland/San Francisco elite, a walkin' and a talkin' his way through a political sermonette, filled with militantly-framed supplication and petulance, a blueprint for how to remain a "good nigger" while being Black enough for everyone. I was reminded of Ron Karenga.

There were Hosannas to the highest, for he hit home right on target. It was CIA jargon, Black-enized and baptized in the blood. Why we should support Carter: because today's White House won't leave Africa alone and Andy is so Black and proud that he recognizes Carter's nonpolicy on Africa as positive for "our people." Carter has no policy against the invasion of Angola, the apartheid in southern Africa, the attacks on people of Azania, the Kissinger plan for Zimbabwe. Carter has no plan because Carter supports CIA/U.S. foreign policy, and will, like the Democrats before him, move the program along until Vietnam will only be a shadow of a war; when the Carter/Kissinger-Ford/Kissinger plan for Zimbabwe is enacted. But Andy tells us we just got to recognize that Kissinger only does this 'cause he's stupid. (It's real hip for a Black to chide a bigtime White boy, that's truly tough, Andy.) You see, when Andy spoke to Henry (Kissinger), Henry didn't even know where Angola was. Lots of guffaws from the audience. No, Henry Kissinger is an expert, an ideologue of reaction who not only knows where Angola is, but knows how to use Blacks like Mobuto to get U.S. weaponry in to protect "freedom." He is no laughing matter.

You see, Andy goes on, the Africans don't want communism — 'cause they know that White commies are just as racist as White capitalists. (Did he hear that from CIA Director George Bush when he and his wife played tennis with Bush at the CBS Open?) You know Black folks are too smart to be dominated by Russians, or — Andy throws in — Chinese. Did he mean the Lusaka-Dar es Salaam railroad

that was built with the help of Chinese economic aid and manpower, during the course of which there was no abundance of new half-Chinese children born, unlike the thousands/millions of half-White children born during hundreds of years of Christian missionary activity in Africa? Are we to imagine, as Mr. — rather Reverend — Young suggests, that Africa exemplified by the reactionary government of Egypt will run communism out if only Henry Kissinger will leave them alone; to themselves embrace U.S. imperialism, as Mr. Young seems to have in mind.

Worst of all, after warming our hearts with these words, Andy went on to explain why it's also important for Blacks to be elected: 'cause see, even if you don't do nothin' (he doesn't really talk like that, does he?), Black folks in arms with White folks remind them of their obligation (it used to be called "burden"), 'cause, see...even me, I don't know to feed my little

son 'lessin' the nigger holler, . . . if he hollers let him go. Are we the "boys" and "girls" of White folks, only to have to remind them of our needs to have them fulfilled? Is the loving relationship of a father and son to be likened to the relationship of poor Black people and racist rich White people?

A SHAME TO DR. KING

Andrew Young is a shame to Dr. King, a puffed-up, turned-out "Black messiah." I was tired of hearing but I couldn't run away. I wished for him to go away and not break the hearts of millions of Blacks to whom he represents the image of a responsible leader. Perhaps to Liberia, where, as Rockefeller said, he'd probably be a slave. No matter. His mind is theirs already, a globetrotter for reaction, singing "Sweet Georgia Brown" to the beat of the CIA and the FBI, a different drummer than me and mine, in opposition to the beat of Revolution throughout the world. History will not absolve him. □



COMMENT

Global Reach—The Power Of The Multinationals

As a result of widespread interest on the subject of multinational (or global) corporations produced by an article which appeared as a comment two weeks ago ("Should the U.N. Admit The Multinationals?") THE BLACK PANTHER presents the following article, from Global Reach — The Power of Multinational Corporations, which is excerpted from the book's introductory chapter, "The World Managers."

The men who run the global corporations are the first in history with the organization, technology, money, and ideology to make a credible try at managing the world as an integrated unit.

The global visionary of earlier days was either a self-deceiver or a mystic. When Alexander the Great wept by the riverbank because there were no more worlds to conquer, his distress rested on nothing more substantial than the ignorance of his mapmaker.

As the boundaries of the known world expanded, a succession of kings, generals, and assorted strong men tried to establish empires of ever more colossal scale, but none succeeded in making a lasting public reality out of private fantasies. The Napoleonic system, Hitler's Thousand Year Reich, the British Empire, and the Pax Americana left their traces, but none managed to create anything approaching a global organization for administering the planet that could last even a generation. The world, it seems, cannot be run by military occupation, though the dream persists.

The managers of the world's corporate giants proclaim their faith that where conquest has failed, business can succeed.

"In the forties Wendell Willkie spoke about 'One World,' " says IBM's Jacques G. Maisonrouge. "In the seventies we are inexorably pushed toward it, working through great corporations that straddle the earth," says George Ball, former undersecretary of

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THE BLACK PANTHER

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DEBORAH JOHNSON testified in the Fred Hampton murder trial last week, describing the slain Black Panther Party leader's vicious murder.

MOTHER OF FRED, JR.

Deborah Johnson Testifies At Fred Hampton Murder Trial

(Chicago, Ill.) - Deborah Johnson, the last person to see slain Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton alive and conscious and who, at the time of the December 4, 1969, police raid was nine months pregnant with his baby, testified last week at the ongoing \$47.7 million damage suit trial here in federal court.

The tired deputy chairman, Ms. Johnson testified, came into their bedroom and laid down around 2:00 a.m. He then placed a call to his mother and sister in nearby Maywood. During the lengthy conversation, Fred fell off to sleep. She picked up the phone and Fred turned over and went to sleep for the night, for the last time.

Ms. Johnson testified that she attempted to wake Fred one more time but was unsuccessful. Then she went to sleep herself.

She was awakened several hours later. A Party member was poised at the head of the bed, trying to wake Fred up. He did not respond. She saw "sparking" through the open doorway and heard continuous shooting.

Unable to wake Hampton, she crossed over his sleeping body. The bed vibrated with the continuous shooting.

PROTEST TO FOCUS ON U.S. POLICIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

OCTOBER 6TH COALITION PLEDGES MAJOR DEMONSTRATION AT S.F. CARTER - FORD DEBATE

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Representatives of a broad-based, ad hoc coalition of Bay Area progressive groups - including Elaine Brown, from the Black Panther Party - held a lively press conference here last Tuesday to announce plans for a major demonstration the following day, Wednesday, October 6, at the site of the second Carter-Ford debate, to protest U.S. imperialist policies in southern Africa and domestically.

Hundreds of concerned Bay Area groups and individuals will be gathering near the Palace of Fine Arts here, representatives of the October 6th Coalition said, starting at 5:30 p.m. The theme of the protest, they said, reflects the stated topic of discussion for the second of three scheduled debates - that is, U.S. foreign policy and defense. (See next week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER for full details on the demonstration.)

Speaking at the press conference, which itself was somewhat of a mini-demonstration, held in front of the South African Consulate in downtown San Francisco - Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown commented that the purpose of the next day's protest was "to point up the serious issues" that neither Carter nor Ford address.



The October 6th Coalition held a spirited press conference in San Francisco this week to announce a demonstration outside the Ford-Carter debate.

"We have to be more serious," Elaine said, "and not let ourselves be sidetracked. Tomorrow, those of us in the coalition will demonstrate that we are serious; that neither Ford nor Carter represents reasonable or progressive policies, certainly not for the people of southern Africa - Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe."

"People can make decisions for themselves and certainly don't need a Henry Kissinger plan or a Jimmy Carter plan (which is unknown to us at this moment but you can assume that were

Carter to win, it would be the same as the Henry Kissinger plan, or worse).

"Our support is with the people of southern Africa."

Elaine also had some strong words on the resignation of U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz:

"I think the whole issue over Butz is a whitewash of the serious issues that have to take place. Butz certainly didn't say anything different than what Ford or Carter has been saying. It's just that he was a little more crude - a sort of Archie Bunker of the Ford administration." (See article, page 5.)

Prior to Elaine addressing the media, Ms. Belvie Rooks from the Third World Fund read a statement from the October 6th Coalition:

"... While Ford and Carter debate the fine points of their identical plans for southern Africa, thousands of Black South Africans (Azanians) have been shot down and imprisoned for protesting against the racists in South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Despite these repressive attacks, the resistance of our brothers and sisters in southern Africa is daily growing.

"As a coalition, we are demanding an end of U.S. imperialism in Africa, U.S. investment in South Africa, and a halt to the Kissinger plan. We support the guerrilla movements in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa in their efforts to win genuine

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ELAINE BROWN (left) and BELVIE ROOKS denounced U.S. policy in southern Africa at the October 6th Coalition's press conference.

GRAND JURY FINDS YOUTH FACILITIES "OVERWHELMINGLY WHITE"

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM CHARGED IN S.F. JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A special grand jury, convened to study the juvenile justice system of San Francisco County, has found that institutional racism permeates the system and that officials have failed to move fast enough in expanding use of community-based agencies as juvenile referral facilities.

In a related development, the mayor of the predominantly Black community of East Palo Alto accused the county Board of Supervisors of racism in their decision to cut off funds for a badly needed program designed to prevent juvenile "delinquency."

The results of the year-long investigation of the civil grand jury into San Francisco County's juvenile court system and the Youth Guidance Center (YGC) were made public in a press conference held at the State Building here last week. Some 18 agencies of the local government are involved in the administration of YGC, and for this reason, the grand jury was able only to conduct a partial study of the YGC, as well as the court system.

RECIDIVISM

The grand jury report praised community-based programs that have had far greater success in decreasing recidivism among youthful offenders than public juvenile institutions. The report referred to an earlier report made by the Junior League of San Francisco which made an intensive study of five community-based juvenile agencies in the city. The League found that:

"Youth alternative agencies have demonstrated their effectiveness in reducing recidivism at a lower cost per client than institutional treatment at YGC and at the Ranches (Log Cabin Ranch and Hidden Valley Ranch). One of the strongest factors in the success of these programs is the use of staff members who grew up in the same neighborhoods and faced the same problems as do their clients. . . ."

However, the grand jury report continues, funds for community-based programs, such as the LEAA (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration) - financed Community Youth Responsibility Program (CYRP) of East Palo Alto, are often abruptly terminated, leaving the agencies to "face a precarious daily existence. . . ."

The grand jury report was



BPINS photo

Black youth are the victims of institutional racism in San Francisco County juvenile detention centers, a recent grand jury report revealed.

particularly critical of "the plain fact. . . that those who run the juvenile justice system are overwhelmingly White, whereas a majority of youth going through the system are Black." The jury visited Log Cabin Ranch - one of two juvenile facilities for boys located in the rural community of La Honda in San Mateo County - where 84 of the 86 youths were Black. These youths spend upwards of six months at Log Cabin.

"In short," the grand jury report stated, "White boys do not end up at Log Cabin Ranch, even though over 30 per cent of

juveniles arrested in San Francisco for serious and violent offenses are White." The report further noted that there are no Black employees at Log Cabin and demanded that the "racial composition. . . must be equalized."

The grand jury was told that one of the reasons for the institutional racism at Log Cabin is "the alleged reluctance" of private placement facilities to accept Black youths 16 or 17 years of age. The jury urged the California Youth Authority (CYA)

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People's China Praised At Forum

(Oakland, Calif.) - Last week's Oakland Community Learning Center Forum celebrated the 27th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, which just recently mourned the loss of its great revolutionary leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

On hand to provide a firsthand account of life in People's China was young GRAY THOMPSON of Oakland, who traveled to China this summer with two other Black people. Also on the program was the film, *Eight or Nine in the Morning*, which detailed the advances made by China during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and how the youth of the country are learning to safeguard this hard-won progress.

BPINS photo

THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

October 3, 1805

Black architect and author Benjamin Banneker died on October 9, 1805. He had become so proficient in the subjects of science, mathematics and astronomy that he was named to the commission which surveyed the territory that became Washington, D.C. Beginning in 1791, Banneker issued an annual almanac that has been compared to Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac*. Banneker boldly lashed out at the racial injustices of the age and was one of America's first great Black leaders.

October 4, 1864

On October 4, 1864, the *New Orleans Tribune* became the first Black daily newspaper in the U.S. It began publication as a daily in French and English.

October 6, 1865

At the Mississippi Convention held on October 6, 1865, Black citizens met to protest the racist and reactionary policies of that Southern state and to demand rights guaranteed by the "Emancipation Proclamation."

October 3, 1949

WERD, the nation's first Black-owned radio station, opened in Atlanta, Georgia, on October 3, 1949.

October 9, 1969

A new hospital named after the famed Black doctor, Louis T. Wright, was dedicated in Harlem, New York, on October 9, 1969.

October 4, 1972

U.S. District Court Judge Frank M. Johnson ordered Alabama to "immediately improve its prison medical services for inmates" on October 4, 1972. Johnson said that "the present medical services in Alabama's prisons constitute a willful and intentional violation of the rights of prisoners guaranteed under the Eighth and Fourteenth Amendments."

OBSCENE ANTI-BLACK REMARK SPARKS MEDIA-CREATED FUROR

BUTZ "BOO-BOO" ENDS IN TEARFUL RESIGNATION

(Washington, D.C.) - Culminating a media-created public furor which had all the trappings of a staged debate between the Hypocrites and the Philistines, U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz resigned from office last Monday, the result of an obscene racial slur he made against Black people.

As the strained controversy

"John (Dean) and I were just discussing the appeal of the Republican Party. It seems to me that the party of Abraham Lincoln could and should attract more Black people. Why can't that be done?"

"This was a fair question for the secretary (Butz), who is also a very capable politician.

"I'll tell you why you can't

attract coloreds,' the secretary proclaimed as his mischievous smile returned. 'Because coloreds only want three things. You know what they want?' he asked Pat.

"I'll tell you what coloreds want. It's three things: First, a tight pussy; second, loose shoes; and third, a warm place to shit. That's all!"

Confronted about his comment, Butz replied that he was merely "repeating an old political joke." President Ford called the secretary in for a red carpet "severe reprimand" but refused to fire him.

camera, (1) calling for Butz's aspiring Democratic Presidential nominee Jimmy Carter had the audacity to "pounce" on the issue.

Seemingly forgetting his own racist slur — protecting the "ethnic purity" of White neighborhoods from "alien invasion/-Black intrusion" — uttered during the Democratic primaries, Carter nonsensically said that Butz's remark "indicates how this administration feels about consumers, farmers and people who are dependent on government for a better way of life." Senator Robert Dole, Ford's running mate, countered by saying that although Butz's statement was

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ORLD'S HIGHEST STANDARD OF LIVING



American people wait in bread line during the Depression. The racist remarks made by former Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz truly reflect the "American Way of Life."

unfolded, with publicity-minded Democrats and Republicans taking turns in front of the

Campaigning in Pittsburgh, resignation and/or (2) demanding that President Ford fire his close friend, a Black woman interviewed on San Francisco's KPIX-TV summed up community sentiment this way (to paraphrase):

"If all those politicians who said racist things quit or were fired, there wouldn't be no government left."

The Butz remark which led to his political downfall in the Ford administration first appeared a month ago in a *Rolling Stone* magazine article on the Republican Convention written by convicted Watergate informant John Dean. Going against his habit of "telling all," Dean did not include the name of the Cabinet official who made the derogatory remark. However, *New York* magazine, in its current issue, attributes the statement to Butz.

The *Rolling Stone* article contains this passage:

"Pat (Boone) posed a question:

Voter Registration Drive Ends

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Committee For Greater Voter Registration, a volunteer, community-based group seeking maximum citizen participation in the electoral process, ended a highly successful voter registration drive in Alameda County last Monday, October 4.

Volunteer voter registrars traveled seven days a week throughout the county and talked to thousands of people in their efforts to ensure that all eligible voters were registered. The Committee concentrated its campaign in the Black and poor communities of the county — areas where voter registration is lowest.

According to a recent nationwide survey, roughly 70 million voting age Americans are expected to be nonvoters in the general elections this November 2. It is through concerned groups such as the Committee For Greater Voter Registration that this apathy can be reduced and people shown that voting is one possible means through which they may begin to make government in this country responsive to their needs.

BPINS photo



Philadelphia gangster-mayor
FRANK RIZZO.
REMOVED FROM BALLOT

Rizzo Recall Blocked By Pa. Supreme Court

(Philadelphia, Pa.) - In a cruel setback to a widespread citizens' movement here, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court has ruled, for no apparent reason, that Philadelphia gangster-mayor Frank Rizzo will not have to face a special recall election on November 2.

The court, in a 4-to-2-to-1 decision reversed a ruling by Common Pleas Court Judge David N. Savitt, who had ordered the recall vote to be placed on the November election ballot.

The Citizen Committee to Recall Rizzo had collected over 211,000 signatures on petitions seeking the recall of the racist, ex-police chief, mayor. Under the provisions of the city's Home Rule Charter, only 145,448 signatures were needed (one-fourth of those registered to vote in the last election) to force Rizzo to resign in 10 days or face the recall election.

After the signatures were collected, city commissioners, in a 2 to 1 vote, ruled the petitions did not obtain the necessary number of valid signatures. This, in turn, was overruled by Judge Savitt.

However, in a ruling that is yet to be explained, the state high court has ruled that the recall provision of the Home Rule Charter is un-Constitutional, upholding the argument of Rizzo's personal attorney, Howard Gittis, and Philadelphia City Solicitor Sheldon Albert.

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Deborah Johnson Testifies At Fred Hampton Murder Trial

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uous fire. Louis Trulock, one of the raid survivors, called out "Stop shooting, we have a pregnant sister in here." The shooting continued.

Trulock shouted out, "We are coming out."

Deborah crossed over the body of Fred Hampton to get out of bed. There was no blood on his face, no wounds showing anywhere. As she stood up and walked out of the room, followed closely by Trulock, she heard more shots coming into the room. She thought they were aimed at her. They were not.

Insulted and assaulted by the police officers, Ms. Johnson was hustled into the kitchen. She watched as all the other occupants of the apartment, many wounded and bleeding, were brought into the kitchen and thrown on the floor. One exception was Mark Clark, who lay dead in the living room.

She heard more firing and the words, "He'll barely make it. He's barely alive."

Then there was more shooting from the bedroom and she heard words, "He's good and dead now."

JURY

Ms. Johnson's testimony seemed to deeply affect the jury as they looked from the witness stand to the mother, sister and young son of Fred Hampton, who were sitting bravely in the front of the courtroom. Her testimony further substantiated the suit's claim that Fred, who was a light sleeper, was drugged and then assassinated in a cold and calculated manner by former Cook County State's Attorney Edward G. Hanrahan's raiding squad.

Earlier testimony by present and former FBI special agents has shown conclusively the long and complicated maneuverings of the COINTELPRO operators in setting up — and later taking credit for — the raid that ended in the Hampton-Clark assassinations.

Only a few days before Deborah Johnson testified on the stand, the memory of the slain community leader was honored in the naming of the first law school established solely for Black and poor people, the Fred Hampton School of Law. Sponsored by the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the School held a fund-raising dinner for well over 600 hundred Chicagoans. Key-note speaker Congressman Ron Dellums praised the new school



Young FRED HAMPTON, JR., (right inset) was not yet born when his courageous father (left inset) was murdered in his sleep (see bed above) during raid planned by the FBI's COINTELPRO operation.

and referred emotionally to the courage of Fred Hampton, speaking for nearly 45 minutes on the crisis facing this country.

The distinguished California congressman condemned those so-called national leaders who failed to raise the basic issues of housing, employment and medical care and education for poor and oppressed people at the Democratic National Convention, charging that they preferred to trade their unquestioning support

for a job in the Carter administration.

The Fred Hampton School of Law, located on the Southside of Chicago, has enrolled 51 students and is dedicated to producing lawyers that will serve the needs of Black and poor communities. In honoring the name and dedication of Fred Hampton, the School becomes one more evidence that his vision, intensity of struggle and sacrifice will continue long years after his murder. □

DELLUMS' CORNER

Receives Endorsements From U.F.W., Consumer Group



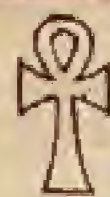
(Washington, D.C.) - Popular Bay Area Congressman Ronald V. Dellums received the endorsements of two major organizations last week. Endorsing the East Bay representative for a fourth straight term in Congress were the United Farm Workers (UFW) of America, AFL-CIO, and the Consumer Federation of America (CFA).

UFW head Cesar Chavez said his organization endorsed Dellums because of his public support for Proposition 13, and for his history of concern for farmworkers and other poor and oppressed peoples in the community.

CFA Executive Director Carol Tucker Foreman said her group endorsed Dellums because of his "continuing and courageous" support for consumers. "Despite tremendous pressures from a variety of anticonsumer forces, including the Ford administration, and intensive, well-financed industry and trade association lobbying efforts, Rep. Dellums has consistently and courageously voted in the best interests of consumers," Foreman said. Dellums has supported consumers on every one of the issues selected by CFA.

Dellums is seeking a fourth straight term in Congress in the Eighth Congressional District. He was elected to the 92nd Congress on November 3, 1970, and has been re-elected every two years to each succeeding Congress.

OUR HEALTH



Black Nurses Hold Convention

(San Francisco, Calif.) — Over 1,100 Black registered nurses, licensed vocational nurses and students attended a conference here last week sponsored by the National Black Nurses' Association (NBNA).

"Will Health Care Be Better in 1984?" was the theme of several workshops in which such topics as medical experimentation, abortion and right-to-die laws were discussed.

Association President Dr. Lorraine Sams, a registered nurse and psychologist, said the conference was using its particular theme because "the year 1984 isn't far away and indications are that it will be a bleak year for the nation."

"We know the country's resources are becoming very scarce," she said, "and we know this will affect Black people more than others because resources in the Black community have always been scarce."

Dr. Sams explained that Black nurses first organized themselves because they were not allowed to be members of the previously all-White American Nurses Association, but later the NBNA was formed "to pool our strength." One of the main reasons for our existence," she said, "is to improve national health policy in terms of minorities, and to see that our people are not taken advantage of. Our objective is to be advocates within the profession for the Black community."

A resident of Tuskegee, Alabama, Dr. Sams mentioned the 40-year U.S. Health Service study conducted there on 400 Blacks without the knowledge of many of the participants who were not treated for the dreaded syphilis. "That type of exploitation," Dr. Sams emphasized, "and some of the experiments taking place in prisons today concern our organization."

On hand to address the conference was Dr. Kenneth Edelin, the Black Boston obstetrician who was convicted of manslaughter 18 months ago due to anti-abortion hysteria. He explained:

"I am not an advocate of abortion. I am an advocate freedom of choice, the freedom for a woman to decide when and if to be pregnant."

BOYCOTT CONTINUES

Still No Union Contract For J.P. Stevens Workers

(Roanoke Rapids, N.C.) - A rally by several thousand textile workers and supporters was held here recently marking the second anniversary of a union victory at the J.P. Stevens textile plant. But a full two years after the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union won the vote at J.P. Stevens, there is still no union contract.

"J.P. Stevens has spent millions of dollars to prevent its employees from exercising their basic right to organize into a union," explains the union in a leaflet calling for a boycott against the giant company.

The second largest textile corporation in the United States, J.P. Stevens has moved most of its production to the South. There, it has taken advantage of lower wages, taxes, energy costs — and the lack of unionization.

LEAST UNIONIZED

Most of the company's plants are in North and South Carolina. North Carolina is the least unionized state in the U.S.; only 6.9 per cent of its nonfarm workers are organized, compared with the national average of 26 per cent.

Wages at J.P. Stevens plants are 31 per cent lower than the average national wage of factory workers. There are no grievance procedures, no such things as sick days. Department of Labor inspectors found that Stevens plants in the Carolinas ignore minimum safety standards for workers. Cotton dust levels — three times as thick as national minimum health levels allow — have disabled thousands of Stevens workers with Brown Lung, or byssinosis. Noise levels also far exceed minimal national standards.

In 1968, the National Labor Relations Board declared a union victory at J.P. Stevens' Statesboro, Georgia, plant. Stevens ignored the ruling until the courts threatened a big fine, and then, in early 1975, they shut the mill down.

"At J.P. Stevens, before we started organizing, it wasn't too much different than slavery," said Addie Jackson, a worker who lost her job at the Statesboro plant. "No lunch hour," she explained. "Just eat your sandwich while running your ma-

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BLACK U.F.W. LEADER SEEKS SUPPORT FOR FARM LABOR INITIATIVE ON NOVEMBER 2 BALLOT

SUNDAY COMMUNITY FORUM TO FEATURE MACK LYONS, ELAINE BROWN FOR "YES ON 14" CAMPAIGN

(Oakland, Calif.) — United Farm Workers (UFW) official Mack Lyons, coordinator of the statewide "Yes on 14" campaign, will address an expected overflow audience at the Oakland Community Learning Center this Sunday, October 10, on the necessity to pass the popular initiative, strengthening the farm union election process, on the November 2 ballot.

Joining Lyons — a Black UFW leader who led a successful struggle against Coca-Cola to organize citrus fruit workers in Florida — as featured speaker will be Elaine Brown, chairperson of the Black Panther Party.

Similar to a speech by noted UFW leader Cesar Chavez delivered at St. Elizabeth's Church here recently, Lyons' address is expected to focus on the importance of self-determination in California's vast agricultural industry and how Proposition 14 insures farm workers of their right to unionize for their protection.

Following a successful statewide voter registration drive, (ending on October 4) which concentrated on Chicano and Black communities, the UFW and "Yes on 14" organizers are gearing up for a massive "peo-



Emblem of the United Farm Workers Union, which is engaged in a statewide campaign for the passage of Proposition 14.

ple's campaign," as Chavez put it, to educate and inform the public of the benefits of Proposition 14.

Hundreds of volunteers are and have been recruited for full-time street work, including precinct-by-precinct door knocking, leafletting and an action program of marches and rallies in support of Prop. 14. "Human billboards," that is, volunteers carrying huge placards and leaflets are scheduled to man highway entrances and exits up and down the state to drawn attention to the campaign.

Meanwhile, plans to send 50,000 farmers and growers into the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas in an anti-UFW, anti-Prop. 14 conspiracy were announced by Harry Kubo, president of the "No on 14" group.

The coordinated invasion is scheduled for October 23 and 24.

Records released last week reveal that the giant agribusiness forces against Proposition 14 are outspending the "Yes on 14" campaign by 6 to 1. As of September 25, the "No on 14" group, called Citizens for a Fair Farm Labor Law, had collected \$995,000 and spent \$621,000 according to reports filed with the secretary of state's office.

By comparison, the "Yes on 14" campaign has raised \$258,000 and has spent \$102,000.

The anti-UFW forces, who falsely propagandize that Prop. 14 violates "private property" rights, are expected to raise close to \$2.5 million in their concerted bid to thwart the initiative's passage. □

N.A.A.C.P. Wins Last Minute Reprieve

(Oxford, Miss.) — The NAACP won a last-second double reprieve last week in efforts to appeal a \$1.2 million judgement against them stemming from a 1960s boycott of White merchants.

Moments before federal District Court Judge Orma Smith issued a temporary restraining order prohibiting enforcement of the judgement, the AFL-CIO, in conjunction with the United Auto Workers (UAW) agreed to lend the NAACP \$800,000, the balance of the \$1.6 million bond that must be posted before the appeals process could begin.

In August, Hinds County Chancery Court Judge George Haynes ruled that the NAACP and 128 individual defendants, including Mayor Charles Evers, were guilty of violating a Mississippi state law that outlawed "conspiracies" to boycott businesses. Haynes then ordered \$1.2 million damage settlement in favor of 12 Port Gibson White merchants who filed suit following an NAACP-led 1966 civil rights boycott.

Mississippi laws require that a bond of 125 per cent of the judgement be posted within 45 days to appeal a judge's ruling — a requirement which would have thrown the NAACP into bankruptcy on September 30 if it were not for the restraining order. During the intervening time period, the NAACP raised only \$763,000 of the \$1.6 million needed. A hearing on Judge Smith's temporary order was set for October 7.



NEW YORK POLICE DEFY LAW IN WAGE PROTEST— WIDESPREAD DISTURBANCES

Major Department Shake-Up "Imminent"

(New York, N.Y.) - Protesting New York policemen have caused major disturbances throughout the city in recent weeks, and reports are circulating that a major shake-up is "imminent" in the city's police hierarchy.

In an incident last week which received widespread publicity, 2,000 off-duty policemen went on a literal rampage outside of Yankee Stadium during the Ken Norton-Muhammed Ali heavy-weight championship fight — blocking traffic, intimidating motorists, and creating excessive noise and confusion while encouraging outbursts of spontaneous violence from Black and Puerto Rican youths milling outside.

Media personnel and others outside the stadium witnessed numerous unlawful acts by the off-duty cops, the *New York Times* reports. Several of the off-duty policemen were seen encouraging teenagers to vault police barricades and forcefully enter the stadium.

400 OFFICERS

Bronx police commander Anthony V. Bouza, who was in charge of 400 officers stationed at the stadium at the time, crudely attempted to brush off criticism of the lack of police enforcement by saying most complaints came from White people who had never seen disorderly Black and Latino youths. But even Bouza admitted that "quite frankly, our attention was deflected by the off-duty officers and we didn't respond as we might have."

In recent years, the New York Police Department has been plagued with scandal and corruption in addition to widespread organizational changes. But now policemen are beginning to suffer the same hardships faced by other city workers under the city's so-called "fiscal crisis." The once powerful but now divided Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (PBA) has stood by while salaries have been frozen; over 3,000 cops have been laid off and promotions discontinued.

According to the *Times* and other New York papers, the jobs of Bouza and other top police officials are in serious jeopardy for their failure to control unlawful policemen.

Police Commissioner Michael J. Codd is said to be under heavy pressure from New York Mayor



New York City policemen demonstrate in front of City Hall. Disorderly protesting by off-duty officers has created havoc in the "Big Apple."

Abraham Beame to arrest the disruptive, law-breaking cops. After off-duty police marched for three nights in a row in upper-class Manhattan's North section to Gracie Mansion, the mayor's official residence, Codd was forced to issue a directive ordering the arrest and disciplining of unruly policemen.

The policemen have literally taken to the streets in order to obtain a six per cent pay raise retroactive to July 1, 1975 (as mandated by a court order), and a

reduction in an increased work schedule. However, protesting policemen do not have to worry about the brutal police resistance faced by other city workers in their protests against cutbacks.

"We deserve an even break," one uniformed officer told the *Times* at a recent demonstration. "If I were off-duty," he said, "I'd be over there (protesting). We wear the same uniform. Just we're on duty and they're off," he said, illustrating the reluctance to halt the current cop mauling. □

Rizzo Recall Blocked By Pa. Supreme Court

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

Ms. Shelly Yanoff, leader of the recall movement, commented, "There appears to be no redress for abuses of power," calling the court's decision "a terrible disappointment."

"We hope those signatures," she said, "did send a message against the abuses of power. We feel we have won."

If the question had been allowed to remain on the ballot, reports the *New York Times*, it could have had an effect on the Democratic Presidential campaign of Jimmy Carter and the Congressional campaign of Democrat William Green. Rizzo had threatened to turn his political machine against both candidates if they would not come out in support of him.

Apparently Rizzo was able to intimidate Democratic Governor Milton Shapp. A spokesperson for Shapp stated, "The governor thinks it will be beneficial to the Democratic ticket not to have any divisive issue (such as the recall) on the November 2 ballot."

Ironically, in previous national

elections, Rizzo, a Democrat, supported Richard Nixon and George Wallace for President in 1972 and 1968 respectively.

The recall movement began in January, just three months after Rizzo had won re-election by a landslide. The recall committee began organizing after Rizzo announced that the city faced a \$80 to \$100 million budget deficit — a direct result of the mayor's habit of doling out high-paying jobs to political allies and friends.

To pay for this huge deficit, Rizzo suggested exorbitant tax increases and severe cutbacks in vital city services.

Recently he closed the city's only municipal hospital, Philadelphia General, which was the only source of medical care for the city's Black and poor.

The movement against Rizzo also gained momentum when pro-Rizzo construction workers blockaded the offices of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and beat several of the newspaper's employees. The *Inquirer* has been a vocal and consistent critic of Rizzo's corrupt administration. □

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

Nuclear Pamphlet False

(Washington, D.C.) - Congressional investigators have exposed a federal agency here recently for publishing and distributing a "propaganda" pamphlet that misinformed Californians before they voted in a referendum on nuclear power. The General Accounting Office charged the ERDA with presenting "certain facts and omitting others in a way which resulted in a misleading document," part of the propaganda drive against Proposition 13, a nuclear safety initiative defeated in the April, 1976, state elections.

"Ethnic Neglect"?

(Buffalo, New York) - Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter and Daniel "Benign Neglect" Moynihan campaigned here together recently in search of votes. A poll taken for the *Buffalo Evening News* by a professional polling organization showed both Democrats trailing their opponents in Erie County, where Democrats outnumber Republicans.

Veto Overridden

(Washington, D.C.) - Congress easily overrode President Ford's veto of the \$56 billion appropriations bill for social services last week, with "conservatives" of both parties joining "liberal" Democrats in rebuffing the White House. In commenting on the veto, Representative Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., from Massachusetts said, "The amazing thing about Ford's record on vetoes is that he is proud of it... of the negativism that has kept Americans out of work..."

Black Caucus Witch Hunt

(Washington, D.C.) - The Department of Justice may sue a member of Congress for alleged misconduct that falls outside his legislative activities, a federal judge ruled here, recently. The decision will make it possible for the government to continue its witch hunt against Black Congressional Caucus member Rep. William Clay. Clay is reportedly under investigation for inflating the amount of money due him on approximately 90 travel claims from 1970 to 1975.



Detroit youth strikes back during 1975 rebellion.

DRUG PROBE ROCKS DEPT.

Black Police Chief Named In Detroit

(Detroit, Mich.) - Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, seeking to restore public confidence in the scandal-ridden police department of the city, last week summarily fired the White chief of police and replaced him with a Black veteran with over 20 years' of police duty.

William L. Hart, 52, former deputy chief of police, replaces Phillip G. Tannian, who headed the Detroit Police Department for three years. Tannian, a former FBI agent, refused to resign after Young had demanded that he do so, causing the Black mayor to approve a letter of resignation. Tannian wrote shortly after Young was first elected in 1973.

"He (Tannian) chose defiance," Young said at the September 28, news conference held to announce Hart's appointment, "and within the past hour I have placed this day's date on the resignation he submitted."

The Detroit Police Department has been under increasing criticism from the city's predominantly Black community since an exclusive front-page story in THE BLACK PANTHER revealed the violence among local Black gangs is being provoked by members of the predominantly White Detroit Police Officers Association (DPOA). (See THE BLACK PANTHER, August 28, 1976.)

Donald Freed and Jeff Cohen, researchers for the Los Angeles-based Citizens Research and Investigating Committee (CRIC), interviewed a Black city worker in

"IT'S HATRED LIKE YOU'VE NEVER SEEN BEFORE"

BOSTON RACIAL VIOLENCE FLARES UP—HEAR SHOUTS AND SCREAMS AT HIGH SCHOOLS

(Boston, Mass.) - White-instigated racial violence has rocked this historic New England city again as Boston schools entered their third year of court-ordered school desegregation.

At South Boston High, a longtime bastion of racist resistance to school desegregation, repeated fights have broken out due to a combat atmosphere fostered by White antibusing leaders. Racial fights have broken out among the school's 800 pupils despite the presence of 40 to 60 state policemen, 90 teachers and 50 aides.

Now, instead of being immediately arrested or suspended, students are taken to racially segregated "holding rooms" before being sent home.

In describing the situation at South Boston High, a Boston City Hall aide, a policeman and a school department security official all made the same comment, "It's a zoo." A school teacher stated resignedly, "Just a normal day."

Michael Weddleton, an aide to Boston Mayor Kevin White, described the situation as follows, "It's hatred like you've never seen before."

Racial clashes in one week included a book-throwing melee in the school library and fights on staircases during the changing of classes. From the streets outside, one can hear shouts and screams from the windows or see hurling bodies when the doors are



White racist antibusing mothers stage sit-in in Charlestown, Massachusetts. Their leader, ELVIRA "Pixie" PALLADINO (center, right photo), and 26 others were arrested by friendly, laughing police.

opened, the *New York Times* and the *Militant* report.

In a recent incident at Hyde Park High School, Whites gathered at the school's entrance waiting for the bus to arrive carrying Black students. A fight broke out as soon as the bus pulled up and the Black pupils disembarked. Police on the scene moved the Whites away.

After the Black students were taken back to the Black community of Mattapan, many of them began stoning White motorists — in Hyde Park groups of Whites stoned Black motorists.

Five Blacks and five Whites were arrested, and 10 people were injured as a result of this incident.



On the other side of this racially torn city, a sit-in protest of about 50 women was led by East Boston bigot and school committee member Elvira "Pixie" Palladino. Palladino and 26 other antibusing advocates were gently arrested by Boston cops who were observed laughing with them.

Although school officials are claiming that attendance has reached 82 per cent, this figure is deceptive as 8,000 Whites have dropped out of the school system altogether. Boston school officials expected 38,504 White students at the start of the current school year. The number attending is 30-317.

In South Boston or "Southie" as its Irish-American inhabitants call it, a great deal of antagonism has turned towards White policemen enforcing the desegregation order. Recently, cyanide-laced apples were found in the areas where police horses are posted, and one White policeman, Brian O'Rourke, was forced to move after his car was set on fire.

This is very ironic since a majority of Boston's police come from South Boston and most of them are in stiff opposition to busing. □

C.I.A. Lied—Oswald Considered For Spy

(Washington, D.C.) - Despite sworn testimony to the contrary by former CIA Director Richard Helms, the Agency did consider using accused Presidential assassin Lee Harvey Oswald as a spy, newly released CIA documents made public last week reveal.

When he appeared before the Warren Commission in May, 1964 — during its investigation of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy — Helms, then head of CIA's Clandestine Services, testified under oath that the Agency never had "or even contemplated" any contacts with Oswald. The newly released document, among hundreds of pages of documents from the CIA's files on Oswald, however, says that "we (CIA) showed intelligence interest" in Oswald and "discussed... the laying on of interviews." An unidentified CIA officer wrote the memo three days after Kennedy's assassination on November 22, 1963, in Dallas, Texas.

A second document discloses that former CIA Director Allen Dulles, while serving as a member of the Warren Commission, privately counseled CIA officials on the best way to answer questions from the Commission about allegations that Oswald was a CIA agent.

NO NEW TRIAL

Prosecution Witnesses Admit Darwin Brown Frame-Up

(Detroit, Mich.) — A young Black man, Darwin Lance Brown, is presently serving a natural life sentence as a result of false murder charges. The prime prosecution witnesses have admitted that they were coerced into lying against Brown, yet the state of Michigan refuses to grant him a new trial.

Brown was convicted in 1966, at the age of 19, on false first degree murder charges and sentenced to natural life although he had no prior criminal record. At Brown's original trial, young men ranging in ages from 15-20 testified against him and at that time one of his two step-brothers admitted that he lied. He stated that police detectives pressured them until they signed the statement that the police brought to their home, already written out.

THREE YOUNG MEN

Since that time three other young men who testified against Brown have come forth and stated they had lied because of intimidation by the prosecution.

Brown had come home from a party on the evening of October 15, 1965, when Detroit police officers came to take him to the police station, supposedly for questioning. However, the next day Brown's family found out that he had been charged with first-degree murder.

The police beat Brown viciously in an attempt to force him to confess to a crime which he did not commit. At the trial one witness changed his testimony to admit that he and three others had actually committed the murder, not Brown. Despite this change in testimony a mistrial was not called, causing Brown to be convicted.

Since Brown's conviction, his family has appealed for a new trial twice, only to be turned down both times.

The Committee to Free Darwin Lance Brown is asking for help in freeing a victim of this society's racist judicial system. If you would like more information or if you can help in any way, please contact: The Committee to Free Darwin Lance Brown, 13387 Mark Twain Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48227. □

U.S. SUPREME COURT REAFFIRMS DEATH PENALTY

(Washington, D.C.) — The 611 predominantly Black inmates on death row across the country face possible execution in the near future with last Monday's Supreme Court decision reaffirming a July 2 ruling that the death penalty is Constitutional in murder cases.

In its July 2 decision, the high court reviewed the death penalty statutes of Georgia, Florida, Texas, Louisiana and North Carolina — all of which were passed in response to the Supreme Court's 1972 ruling which outlawed capital punishment. The court, in reversing the 1972 decision, found that judges and juries may impose the death penalty provided they have been given adequate information and guidance for determining whether the sentence is appropriate in a particular case.

A related ruling, also on July 2, held that states may not impose "mandatory" capital punishment laws by requiring the death penalty for every person convicted of murder. The death statutes of North Carolina and Louisiana were ruled un-Constitutional on these grounds while those of Georgia, Texas and Florida were upheld. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, July 10, 1976.)



Black and poor people are usually the victims of capital punishment.

The 165 men and women on death row in these three states will be among the first affected by the Supreme Court's October 4 decision. Eleven other states

have similar capital punishment laws.

The Court made no comment in refusing to reconsider its July 2 action. In that decision, Justices Thurgood Marshall, the only Black member of the Court, and William Brennan voted to completely abolish capital punishment. Justice Marshall, in his opinion, severely ridiculed the belief that the death penalty represents the popular will of the American people.

"The mere fact that the community demands the murderer's life in return for the evil he has done cannot sustain the death penalty," Justice Marshall wrote.

The nine justices did agree on Monday to rule between now and the close of the current Court term next summer on the Constitutionality of the death penalty in rape cases. The Court has decided to hear the appeal of a Georgia inmate named Ehrlich A. Coker who was given the death sentence after being convicted of raping a young woman in her home shortly after he had escaped from a nearby prison.

No one has been executed in the U.S. since June 2, 1967, when Louis Joe Monge, a middle-aged Mexican-American, died in the Colorado gas chamber on charges of murdering his pregnant wife and three of their 10 children.

The high Court indicated that it does not intend to review each state's death sentence laws. It refused to hear an appeal on Arkansas' law, which is similar in many respects to those in Florida, Georgia and Texas. The appeal was sent back to the Arkansas Supreme Court for a new ruling. □

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HOUSTON PEOPLE'S COMMISSION FINDS KILLER COPS GUILTY

Independent Inquiry Conducted Into The Murder Of Milton Glover

(Houston, Texas) - An independent commission of inquiry into the death of Milton Glover, a Black Vietnam veteran, has concluded that the young man was brutally murdered by two White Houston cops.

The commission condemned the city administration for its "toleration of racist police terror in the city of Houston" and demanded that police officers Richard Watson and Doreen Miller be indicted for murder.

These findings were unanimously adopted at the end of a public inquiry held on Glover's shooting at the Greater Jerusalem Baptist Church in northeast Houston.

Reverend Allan Robinson and his wife, Marcina, told the commission how Glover died. Shortly after 8:00 p.m. on March 20 of this year, the Robinsons were driving home. They saw Glover cross the road ahead of them and continue walking along the side of the road.

Suddenly, the police crossed the line of traffic and came to a stop directly in front of Glover, who was now completely visible in the headlights of both the police car and the Robinsons' car. Immediately and without warning of any kind, the police began shooting.

EXCITED OFFICER

Officer Miller was so excited she fired through her own windshield. Also, police gunfire smashed through the Robinsons' windshield with the spraying glass temporarily blinding Rev. Robinson.

A total of seven bullets were found in Glover's body, although Mrs. Robinson explained to the commission that the Vietnam veteran fell after the first two shots were fired.

The White police officers claimed that Glover approached them out of the darkness in a threatening manner and that a Bible carried by the Black man in his hand "looked like a gun." The evidence gathered by the commission, however, shows this story to be a lie.

The hearings were well covered by the local news media with several news reporters attending along with a film crew from a local TV station.

Stories appeared in both major



A Houston people's commission (above) found that Milton Glover, a Black Vietnam veteran, was murdered by two White Houston cops on March 20 of this year. Glover's family has received no justice from the city's power structure.

Houston newspapers and on local TV and radio stations.

After Glover's murder, no official action was taken against Watson and Miller. The case was presented to a grand jury which failed to indict the officers. During the grand jury hearing only the police version of the killing was presented and the two most obvious witnesses, the Robinsons, were never called to testify.

By June, the police, the district attorney and the city administration had nearly succeeded in covering up the murder. But a group of community activists organized a widely sponsored memorial for Glover.

At that meeting, reports the *Militant*, the idea of a broad-based independent commission of

inquiry was first raised by Isaiah Lovings, the president of the O.P. DeWalt branch of the NAACP.

With the support of the Glover family, a commission was formed which included: Lovings, Pat Cearcy, Houston Coalition of Labor Union Women; Lunie Grace, Welfare Rights Organization; Zoia Jones, president of the Houston chapter of the National Council of Negro Women; and many other political, labor and community leaders.

NO REPLY

Houston Mayor Fred Hofheinz was invited to serve on the commission but did not reply. When publicly confronted for an answer during a city council meeting, he stated that he was satisfied with the findings of the original investigation. □

Crazed Denver Nazi Murders Innocent Black Man

(Denver, Colo.) - A 27-year-old Black man was shot to death here last week in a movie theater by a White gunman who walked up behind him, put a .44-caliber magnum to his head and fired.

Denver police think that Melvin Meadows was killed by the stranger because he was sitting with his White girlfriend.

Racist and American Nazi Party literature was found in the killer's apartment. Acquaintances and police said Clifford E. Santess, 33, who shot himself to death outside the theater after killing Meadows, was obsessed with race, particularly with Blacks dating Whites.



MELVIN MEADOWS

"I tried to teach my kids that we all are equal because we're human. . . It makes no difference what color you are," said the slain man's mother, Pauline Meadows, who worked as a housekeeper to rear 11 children.

Don Meadows, his 28-year-old brother, sat in his mother's housing-project apartment and talked of his dead brother.

Don Meadows recalled the time the family was ill with influenza and Melvin left his sick bed to take odd jobs for money to give his mother.

"We had no food in the house at the time. It was tough," Don Meadows said. "We had to do a lot of growing up fast."

"I knew whoever shot him had to be someone who didn't know him," he said. "A sick, obscene mind." □

K.K.K. Attacks Memorial Rally For Mao

(Houston, Texas) - Shotgun carrying Klansmen attacked a memorial meeting for Mao Tse-tung at Prairie Fire Bookstore here on Saturday, September 18. Members of the security committee defended those attending the meeting. One Klansman was shot and seriously wounded.

On Monday, September 27, there was a protest demonstration against the grand jury called to investigate the shootings. The district attorney is asking the grand jury to bring attempted murder charges against those who defended themselves against the Klan attack.

To date, seven participants in the memorial meeting have been subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury. A joint statement by three states: "The Houston Police Department has done nothing to see action is taken against the Klansmen who attacked the meeting. The district attorney has more than enough information to bring indictments for this fascist attack. Instead, they are using the grand jury to gather information on the progressive movement in Houston. We will not participate in this type of witch-hunt and are therefore refusing to testify."

Frank Converse of the United Klans of America and Scott Nelson of Fiery Knights have publically bragged that there are many policemen who are members of the Klan. All who have refused to testify face possible indefinite jail sentences.

...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting Novel Examines Lives Of Black Americans In Egypt

The saddening—yet not surprising—news of Malcolm X's assassination reaches the community of Black Americans living in Cairo, Egypt, in the following excerpt from . . . And Bid Him Sing by BLACK PANTHER Editor-in-Chief David G. DuBois.

PART 48

I went through the sit-down bar and up into the main bar. I didn't see Hank at the bar and was about to ask the barman when he looked up and saw me and nodded toward one of the booths near the front. As I approached the booth I saw Hank, slumped over the table, his head between his arms. He was alone.

He had the extraordinary ability to fall asleep—not pass out, but fall asleep—in a crowded bar whenever he was bored and didn't have the energy or the will to leave. It was embarrassing to us and we often told him so. But he didn't seem to have the power to do anything about it.

"Hey, Hank! Wake up!" I said, shoving the shoulder nearest me more roughly than necessary. He raised his head and looked at me. The whites of his large eyes were bloodstreaked and glistening with tears. His face was smeared, his nose runny. He made no effort to wipe it away. There was a dazed and frightened look in his eyes.

"Damn, man. What's the matter?" I demanded, sitting down opposite him, genuinely shocked.

"They've killed Malcolm. . . didn't you hear?"

"What? Who? No, I didn't hear. Who killed him?"

"Some niggers," he said angrily. He sat up slowly and wiped the back of a hand across his nose. "Some niggers . . . they say from Elijah Muhammed!"

"Who says? Where did you hear this? Are you sure?"

"It's all over the AUC. Just saw some of the kids from there at Gohar's. They all talking about it. Sound like they happy as hell . . . saying he preached violence so he had to die violently, and shit like that."

His eyes welled up, overflowed, and large tears rolled down his cheeks. "Bastards!" He reached into a back pocket, took out a large, crumpled white handkerchief and held it with both hands tightly to his eyes.

"Jesus Christ!" I said, wanting to cry myself, yet surprised at Hank.

"Fi eh, Mr. Hank? Aise haga? Aiya hedma? (What's up? Want something? Any service?)" The bartender was standing over us.

I looked up into the genuinely concerned expression on his face, tried to smile and said, "No, man. Thanks. There's nothing."

"I'll bring him a glass of water," he said. "Want a brandy?"

"Bring the glass of water, never mind the brandy." And to Hank: "Suliman and I are outside . . . came to hear Mohammed. Go wash your face and then join us out there."

Hank took the glass of water and drank it all down thirstily while the bartender waited.

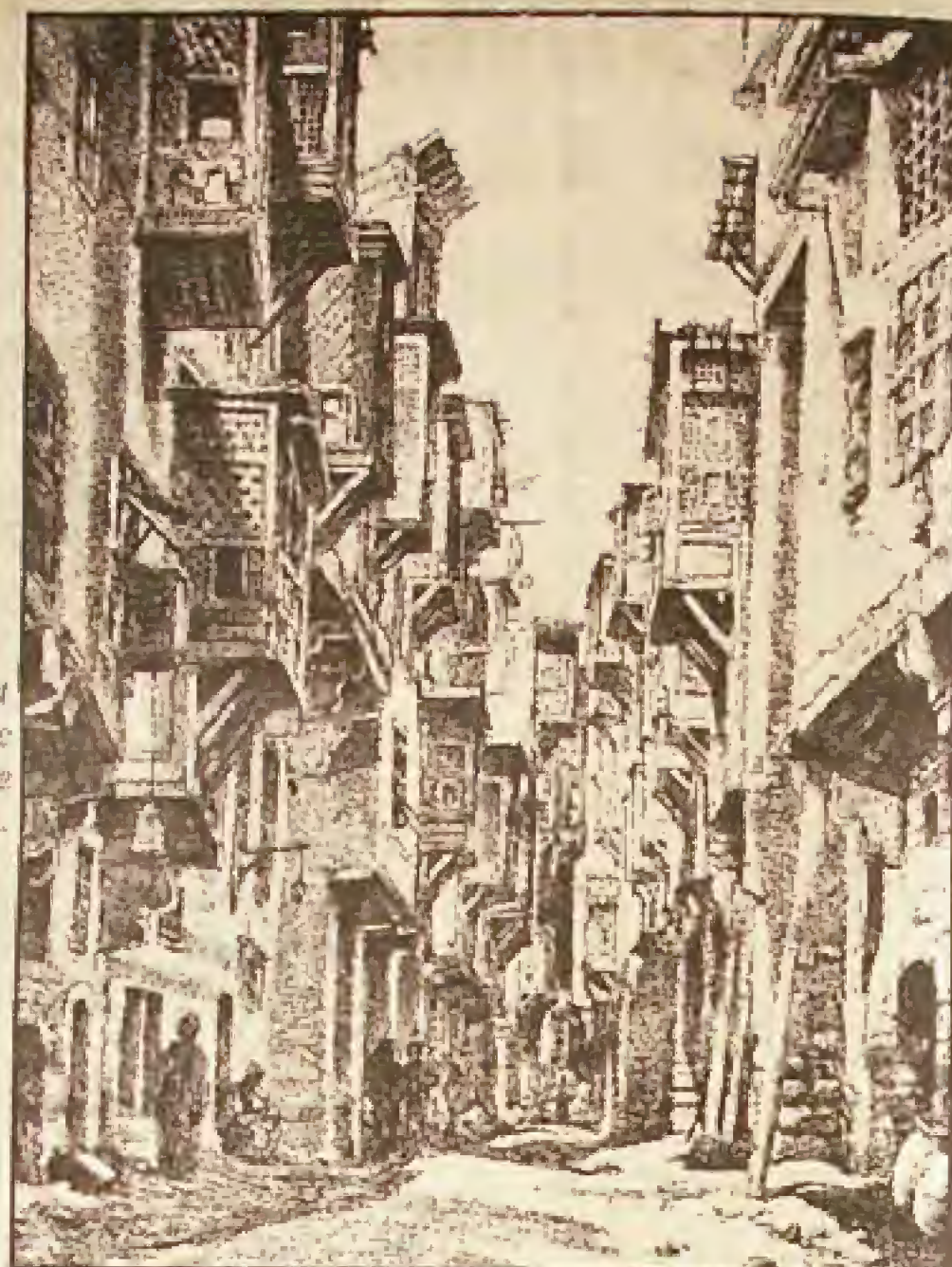
"Aiya hedma," the bartender said smiling, and left.

I suddenly felt very weary. Hank rose, somewhat more energetically, and followed me out. I left him at the toilet door beside the small passageway that led to the kitchen.

Mohammed's group was playing an upbeat rendition of a Modern Jazz Quartet favorite of mine. Several couples were dancing. The room had become more active and noisy. I headed toward our table.

Suliman had the tendency to assume an attitude of imperial

Drawing of street in Cairo's Coptic quarter in the 19th century.



dignity when he was surrounded by his peers. It was both a protection against his lingering fears of inferiority and an assertion of his growing sense of superiority. At these times he looked and acted absolutely unapproachable.

He sat back in his chair, his legs crossed, his chest well out, his head held high. One arm lay crooked on the table. The other was held straight out in front of him, its hand resting on the head of his cane. He was listening intently to the music, or appeared to be. I suspected that he was conscious of the striking picture he made, caught half in the spots that flooded the bandstand, half in the gloom of the room. I

wondered how he'd take the news of Malcolm's murder.

He hardly noticed me as I sat down. "Malcolm's been murdered, shot by some niggers from The Nation. Hank just told me. He just heard it. Was sitting in there bawlin' like a baby. He's in the john now washing his face. He'll be out here in a minute."

At first Suliman didn't move. But at the same time I had the impression of him shrinking, drawing in, crumbling. He slid his hand down his cane to its middle, picked it up and placed it on his lap. As he did this he uncrossed his legs, leaned forward in his chair and pulled it closer to the table. He put both forearms on the table, pushed aside his half-finished glass of beer and said, "What?"

I knew he'd heard what I said. It was in his eyes. But I repeated, "Malcolm's been killed . . . just like we told him he would be . . . but they sure didn't waste any time. They must've really been scared of him."

"By Elijah's goon squads?" he asked.

"That's what they say."

"No shit! You mean they got niggers to shoot him! How? Where? Motherfuckin' sons o'bitches!" He pushed himself away from the table. "Man, a nigger ain't shit! I done tol' you that before. A nigger. . . ain't shit," emphasizing each word.

He looked around the room, refocusing on where he was. He moved as if trapped, snapping his head from side to side. His small eyes blazed. He repeatedly ran his tongue over his lips, drawn back tightly in a thin line.

TO BE CONTINUED

...And Bid Him Sing



...AND BID HIM SING

An exciting novel of Black Americans living in Egypt in the 1960s

David G. Du Bois' first novel makes a new space on the slim shelf labelled Black expatriate fiction. . . this frighteningly accurate characterization of Ugly Afro-Americans in Africa is a sobering reminder of the special cultural baggage and blinders we carry home. In this case home is Cairo, Egypt. . . In And Bid Him Sing, David Du Bois has given us a picture of our sixties through the eyes of another Black culture and understanding.

Those of us who are planning to visit or live in Africa should see And Bid Him Sing as a kind of guide to bad manners abroad. And we who are ready to nostalgize the sixties would do well to read and recognize some parts of all of ourselves who grew so quickly and changed our race before we could change our minds.

Francille Rusan Wilson
The Black Scholar

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REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton
"Strategy"

In this excerpt from "Strategy" in Revolutionary Suicide by Huey P. Newton, leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party, the far-reaching "Free Huey" movement continues to be discussed.

PART 70

The brothers on the outside worked unceasingly for my defense. They went into Black communities in the Bay Area collecting money; they moved onto college campuses and talked to students; they spoke and held forums and organized rallies. When Bobby Seale got out of jail in December (he had been released before his six months were up), he worked full time organizing for my defense. The police never let up on him, either, and one night in February they busted into his apartment and

arrested him for having a weapon, which they had planted there. It was such an obvious frame-up that the judge let him off. On February 17, my birthday, and the next day, two huge rallies were held, one in Oakland and one in Los Angeles. Many leaders of the Black revolutionary movement in the United States spoke at them, including H. Rap Brown, then chairman of SNCC, and James Forman, then head of SNCC's New York office.

Among them, also, was Stokely Carmichael, who came to the jail to see me. He had just returned from a trip around the world—to Africa, Cuba, and Vietnam—and a lot of his ideas had changed in a short time.

DISAGREE

Our visit lasted just long enough for us to disagree. Stokely began by telling me what it would take to get me out of jail. The only thing that would do it, he said, was armed rebellion, culminating in a race war. I disagreed with him. While I acknowledged the pervasiveness of racism, the larger problem should be seen in terms of class exploitation and the capitalist system. In analyzing what was happening in the country, I said that we would have to accept many alliances and form solidarity with any people fighting the common oppressor. He objected to the Black Panther alliance with the Peace and Freedom Party and said we should not associate with White radicals or let them come to our meetings or be involved in our rallies. Stokely warned that Whites would destroy the movement, alienate Black people, and lessen our effectiveness in the community. Later, he proved right in terms of what happened to the Party, although he was wrong in principle. As a result of coalitions, the Black Panthers were brought into the free speech movement, the psychedelic fad, and the advocacy of drugs, which we were and are dead set against. All these causes were irrelevant to our work, which was concerned with deeper and more fundamental issues, in fact, survival. When these things happened, Stokely warned, Whites would try to take the leadership from us.

I did not believe him while he was running these things down to me. We were not into a racist bag, I told him, and these developments were not inevitable. At the



Black Panther Party Fallen Comrade **BOBBY HUTTON** (right). "Lil Bobby" was shot down in cold blood by Oakland police. He is shown here at a 1968 "Free Huey" rally.

time I felt sure that Stokely was afraid of himself and his own weaknesses. I responded to his racist analysis with a class analysis. We could have solidarity and friendship in a common struggle against a common oppressor without the Whites taking over. But in the thirty-three months I spent in jail our leadership did falter, and serious frictions developed between the Black Panthers and White radicals. Not until I got out of jail nearly three years later were we able to start putting everything together again.

UNHAPPY MOMENTS

One of my most unhappy moments during the period I was awaiting trial was when I learned of Little Bobby Hutton's murder on April 6, 1968. News of the shootout came over the prison radio. I was shocked but not surprised. The police claimed Little Bobby was shot trying to escape, but we knew that for the same lie told by Southern sheriffs for years. Black people were not fooled either. A terrible frustration and rage arose in the community. Little Bobby was murdered only two days after Martin Luther King's assassination, and the people were still staggering under that blow. After King's death Police Chief Gain had canceled all police leaves and doubled the number of occupying troops in our community, which only intensified the sense of anger and despair. With Bobby's murder, tension mounted in Oakland, along with the fear that the Black community would riot.

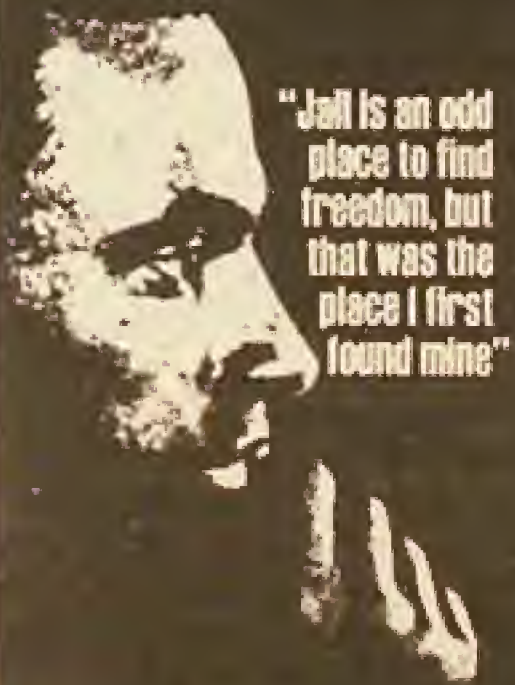
On the morning of April 7, Charles Garry and Bobby Seale

came to see me. Eldridge had been arrested after the shooting, and Garry was going to defend him. He and Bobby were on their way that morning to a press conference at the police station, and they wanted a message for the people. I gave them a tape I had made, urging the people not to riot spontaneously. This would only give the police an opportunity to continue the massacre. The people should arm themselves for protection when the police moved in to brutalize them, but not make themselves targets for defenseless slaughter. Charles Garry delivered my message at the press conference and also made a statement to the media about the deliberate murder of Little Bobby by the police. Of course, Police Chief Gain exploded at that and accused Garry on radio and television of intemperate and false statements. However, a former member of the Oakland Police Department, a Black man, recently confirmed to us in private that Little Bobby was murdered outright. He had witnessed the murder that night. Bobby's death really tore me up. I became even more determined to use my trial as an organizing point against these murders.

Meanwhile, Charles Garry was persevering in his motions to challenge the jury selection system. As a matter of fact, his efforts continued right up until the day my trial began. His investigations have had a profound effect on the whole judicial system, and their repercussions can be seen all over the country today.

TO BE CONTINUED

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE



"Jail is an odd place to find freedom, but that was the place I first found mine"

Huey P. Newton

With power and passion, the co-founder of the Black Panther Party tells his life story. Here is the dynamic account of the making of a revolutionary. Boyhood amid a deeply religious and loving family. Adolescence as thief, hustler, ghetto-survivor. Murder trial for the death of a policeman—a cause célèbre that inspired the militant cry: Free Huey. Conviction. Imprisonment. And final exoneration. Huey P. Newton's autobiography—in a most moving sense—is a testament to the black American's pain and dilemma in the 1970s. —Publishers Weekly

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Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

"THIS TRIAL WILL NOT STOP US"

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE
was convicted of assault on a guard in the San Quentin 6 case and who has been in state prison since 1965, will be released within the next few weeks.

The third defendant, Hugo Pinell, 37, convicted of two counts of assault on a guard, gained by a life term parole, was given two concurrent sentences of nine years to life.

In his dramatic statement, Spain, who was the only one of the three defendants to assume his right to address the court prior to sentencing, began by saying, "In all of history, no other animal has been chained down the way I've been chained today; the way I've been chained for the past four years."

"The jury in this trial were not my peers," Spain charged. "When you speak of my peers, you'll have to talk a whole lot about people who have a history of slavery, who have been robbed of nearly all in life — and sometimes of life. You'll have to show me the people who have had their heads bashed, their ribs kicked, their backs and lives stomped for merely wanting to live."

"The most consequential of my peers, those who you and this society never consider, but who are the most advanced lot of people of earth, are the children — the future."

Spain closed his moving statement with a quote from George Jackson directed specifically to Judge Broderick. The quote ends with the appropriate words, "The full time: competence ends only with insignificance." (See the full text of Johnny Spain's statement, next page.)

Prior to announcing the sentences, Judge Broderick summarily denied several motions for a new trial which the defense attorneys had spent all day Thursday arguing.

The most significant of the new trial motions

Broderick denied were:

• A motion filed by Charles Garry (use) on newly-discovered evidence that corroborating witness Jane Jackson a deep hatred for the Black Panther Party, but that she both lied during the jury selection process and communicated her bias to her fellow jurors. Garry argued that Jane Jackson Fagan "both lied and violated her duty as a juror."

During an emotionally-charged hearing on Thursday, Fagan, her voice full of passion, freely admitted (1) that she was the "good friend" of a Santa Monica woman allegedly murdered by former Black Panther Party member Elmer (Hieronymus) Pratt; (2) that she twice told Judge Broderick of this connection (who never informed defense counsel); (3) that she disobeyed repeated instructions and discussed the murder of her friend with "all" the other jurors. Fagan also made several other admissions which indicated she had deliberately lied during the questioning of prospective jurors prior to selection. (Over 1,200 potential jurors were questioned.)

DENIED THE MOTION

Broderick denied the motion — and refused to disqualify himself from making the ruling — saying that "if any misconduct exists, I'm not concerned."

• A motion by Frank Cox, the bespectacled young attorney representing David Johnson, that Marin County District Attorney Bruce Blakes spied on the jury during a sensitive part of post-day deliberations.

Broderick first granted a prosecution motion to strike from the record signed affidavits from three jurors confirming the spy charges, and then dismissed Cox's motion, commenting that Blakes' activities were obviously "accidental."

• Motions by Garry, Cox and Pinell—who represented himself during the 15-month



The murder of Black Panther Party Field Marshal **GEORGE JACKSON**, as the result of a state conspiracy, was the real issue in the San Quentin trial, which ended in an ignominious verdict. Spectators tonight crowded into the courtroom to show their support during last week's sentence.

proceedings—charging that the chaining and shackling of the six Black and Brown defendants during the trial was "illegal" and "highly prejudicial."

In what were his most arrogant and obnoxious utterances, Broderick justified his shackling and chaining in terms of "trial security" and "the low frustration tolerance of the defendants." Acquitted six defendants Willie Tate and Floella Drungo walked out of the spectators' section in protest during Broderick's contemptuous remarks.

Commenting to the media assembled outside the courtroom, Garry said Spain's concurrent life terms were "exactly what I expected. The appeal is already prepared." Garry added, "In fact, I filed it before the judge pronounced his sentence."

Black Panther Party chairperson Elmer Brown, who attended the Thursday court session, said that, "Johnny Spain was cruelly convicted for political reasons: association with George Jackson; association with the Black Panther Party. I don't think there's any doubt about that at this point."



"THE JURY IN THIS TRIAL WERE NOT MY PEERS"

Courtroom Statement By Johnny Spain

In all of history no other animal has been chained down the way I've been chained today. The way I've been chained for the last 4 years. I was chained like this the duration of the trial.

This was a jury trial — and yet, for 15 months I was forced to strain, contorted in my effort to turn and look at my peers through a warped barrier. A jury of nine, 9 peers, that's an important concept because a person's peers are capable of understanding his life.

The jury in this trial were not my peers. When you speak of my peers you'll have to talk a whole lot about people who have a history of slavery, who have been robbed of nearly all in life — and sometimes of life. You'll have to show me the people who have had their heads bashed, their ribs kicked, their faces and lives stomped for merely wanting to live.

"My peers are those who've been deprived of jobs, clothing, housing — the people who, most of their lives, have been hungry and cold and without. I'm talking about people who have been lied on, hated and hung and attacked by civilized dogs — despite their prayers and pleas to God. You'll have to tell me about the people who have been sent to prisons, graveyards, and more than a few times in madness by rules and laws that they never had a voice in creating; rules and laws that weren't created to serve their interests."

"You'll have to tell me about the people who have been phoned again and assassinated like Comrade George Jackson and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the people who were given programs such as COMINTLPRO, which was initiated by the FBI in an attempt to destroy the Black Panther Party. COMINTLPRO is still functioning because it has given some of my peers the option of being castrated into prison on bunk charges, or going into exile like Comrade Huey Newton."

My peers are menaced at for being on welfare; my peers are workers who are barely making it — but who pay more taxes than Nelson Rockefeller. The most consequential of my peers, those who you and this society never consider, but who are the most advanced lot of my people on earth, are the children — the future. The jury in this trial were not my peers.

"And with that in mind I would have to say if the goal was the administering of justice, and theoretically trials are supposed to represent a means by which justice is arrived at when justice is at variance, this trial fell far short in achieving it."

"There was an elaborate display of formality by the State during this trial — all of which was designed to conceal the truth about the assassination of Comrade George Jackson. You can sell half truths and lies to middle and upper-class people because their values have been filled with nothing else, but formality, to me, means tradition, and I have as much respect for tradition as it has had for me. None."

"Traditions amount to outdated values, paper statues with which civilized men use all



JOHNNY SPAIN delivered a stirring statement in the court before he received his cruel sentence.

throughout history have wiped their tears and professed these traditions to the world as the ultimate standards of life — perdition, as life itself."

"There are men on this earth today, more sophisticated, more civilized, but much more sympathetic, who attempt to share the ill-odded values of tradition down our throats."

"I submit this jagged rock would do my rear ends less harm, and let my guts I want the historical record to be clear — I reject this insane tradition, this idiosyncrasy and this nonsense which stands in contradiction to life, because life is necessarily in a constant state of movement, of change and, therefore, of becoming."

"I have all of history to support my position, and with the weapon of historical evidence I have all of the future standing with me — the children — to reject what we as people are no longer willing to tolerate. This trial will not stop us; we are going to become."

At this point, Johnny paused to reading his prepared statement, and announced that he was going to conclude with a quote from the writings of Comrade George Jackson, "Undiscovered especially to the Court, to you Judge Broderick."

"The strong can afford to be incompetent or wrong sometimes without loss of face. Even the mightiest and most capable of men are only human. But he who attributes to himself omnipotence must never be wrong. For once a weakness is found, no matter how small, in one who claims omnipotence, he is completely exposed. The fall from omnipotence ends only with insignificance."



CHARLES GARRY and ELAINE BROWN condemn the sentencing of Black Panther Party member Johnny Spain. Elaine pointed out, "Johnny Spain was cruelly convicted for political reasons. I don't think there's any doubt about that at this point."

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor

people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Intercommunal News

KISSINGER THREAT AT U.N.

U.S. Fights To Save "Shuttle Diplomacy"

(United Nations, N.Y.) - Humiliated at the widespread rejection by Black African leaders of his plan for Black majority rule in Zimbabwe (see article, this page), U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger went before the United Nations last week and issued veiled threats to the Soviet Union and Cuba, warning them against "fueling the flames of war and racial hatred" in southern Africa.

Addressing the opening of the 31st Session of the General Assembly, in the aftermath of his unsuccessful "shuttle diplomacy" in southern Africa, the German-born diplomat, while not specifically mentioning the names of the Soviet Union or Cuba, left no doubts as to whom he was speaking when he said:

"Our values and our interests are best served by an Africa seeking its own destiny free of outside intervention. We do not seek to impose solutions anywhere. We call on all other non-African states to do likewise."

DENUNCIATION

Black Africa's angry denunciation of the Kissinger proposals for establishing Black majority rule in Zimbabwe, coupled with the Ford administration's paranoid fear that progressive socialist governments — such as those in Mozambique and Angola — will take control in Zimbabwe and Namibia, apparently prompted the Kissinger attack on the Soviet Union and Cuba. Both countries provided aid to Angola earlier this year after South African and U.S.-supported Black reactionary forces attempted to overthrow the newly independent government.

Last week was a bleak letdown for "shuttle diplomacy," with the State Department desperately trying to salvage what it could from the African leaders' rebuff of the Zimbabwe plan.

One serious charge made against the Ford administration came from Radha Krishna Ramphul, U.N. ambassador from Mauritius. Speaking on behalf of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) during the Security Council's debate on Namibia, Ramphul accused Kissinger of secretly offering to guarantee South Af-

FRONTLINE AFRICAN PRESIDENTS DEMAND: "MAJORITY RULE IN 4 TO 6 WEEKS"

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) - Following their unanimous rejection of the plan put forth by U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger for establishing Black majority rule in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), the five frontline presidents in southern Africa last week issued an ultimatum to the West that a majority government must be in control of Zimbabwe in four to six weeks.

In a related development, the Mozambique-based Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) issued a statement calling for a continuation of the armed struggle and rejecting the two-year transition period for Black majority rule as well as the mechanics of the transfer of power proposed by Kissinger.

"Under no circumstances are we prepared to share power with racists and fascists," the ZIPA statement said.

Addressing a press conference here on September 29, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere said, "We are talking about majority rule in four to six weeks, when, with the formation of an interim government, the powers of the government of Rhodesia will be passed on to the majority."

On Sunday, September 26, Presidents Nyerere, Samora Machel of Mozambique, Agostinho Neto of Angola, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Seretse Khama of Botswana issued a statement



Zimbabweans rejoice after report that Black African leaders had rejected Kissinger plan for majority rule.

from Lusaka, Zambia, announcing their rejection of the Kissinger plan for Zimbabwe as outlined by Rhodesian "Prime Minister" Ian Smith two days earlier. (See page 19 for the text of the statement.)

The major cause for the frontline presidents' rejection of the Kissinger scheme is the structure of the proposed interim government in Zimbabwe, which would be ruled by a Council of State that would appoint a Council of Ministers. The Council of State would have an equal number of Blacks and Whites, with a White serving as chairman.

The frontline presidents and Zimbabwe nationalists insist that

the interim government must be dominated by Zimbabweans (Black Rhodesians).

The ZIPA denunciation of the Kissinger plan was made at a press conference held on September 30 in Maputo, capital of Mozambique. ZIPA Deputy Political Commander Dzinashé Machingura presented the statement, which said, in part:

"We totally reject Kissinger's vicious scheme in its entirety which is aimed at sabotaging the Zimbabwean struggle and simultaneously preserving Western interests in Zimbabwe.

"We are determined to fight Kissinger's proposals to the bitter end. We are determined to wage a resolute armed struggle until final victory."

The three basic points outlined in the ZIPA statement include:

• "... unconditional surrender of political power to the people of Zimbabwe NOW";

• "The total rejection of 'the mechanics of transferring power ... which involves the participation of any reactionary racist and fascist regime'; and

• "Total rejection of the sharing of power with the White settler regime."

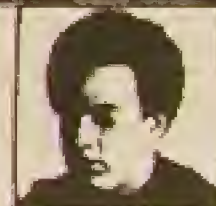
Commenting on Smith's two conditions — the end of guerrilla warfare and the lifting of United Nations sanctions — the ZIPA statement noted, "War will only come to an end after we have realized our objective. With regard to the lifting of sanctions, they can go ahead and lift them. After all, the imperialist powers are notorious for violating the

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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As a bonus to readers who renew their subscription to THE BLACK PANTHER, for a limited time only we're offering FREE a copy of the Fall '74 issue of the CoEVOLUTION QUARTERLY, guest edited by the Black Panther Party.

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AGOSTINHO NETO, president of the People's Republic of Angola, triumphantly returns to Luanda, the country's capital.



INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA

NETO: "OUR STRENGTH RESIDES IN THE PEOPLE"

Following, *THE BLACK PANTHER* presents Part 4 of an update on the current status of the Angolan Revolution as interpreted by Agostinho Neto, president of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the People's Republic of Angola (PRA). The interview was conducted in mid-July by *Afrique-Asie*, a French biweekly, and distributed by People's Translation Service.

PART 4

As for the second part of the question, that which concerns the economy, I believe that any country would have acted as we did. The Portuguese abandoned the "fazendas," the agricultural and industrial enterprises, all of them. As a result, the level of our production has suffered a lot. That only added to the liabilities of the colonial period, especially in the absence of a training program for technical workers to ensure continuity. By abandoning everything in this way, the Portuguese committed a crime.

But there exists a difference between the PRA and other states: we have chosen the socialist path. If we were a capitalist country, these abandoned enterprises would have been occupied by other companies or corporations. New bosses, new owners would have taken control of these enterprises. But we have opted for socialism, and we want to return these goods, these means of production to the people of Angola. We believe that the people of Angola, and not new

privileged persons, must become the new owner of these "fazendas," these factories, a thought which shocks certain political spheres in Portugal.

We consider our attitude legitimate, and it is not for the Portuguese, who took the initiative in deserting the centers of production, to reproach us for this. We must start production again, but according to a specific orientation which we have chosen and which we will pursue. The Portuguese who have remained here are retaining their means of production and are continuing to work. There is no interference by the State with the private property of those who are actually

producing. But we are proceeding to confiscate all the property of those who are not producing, as is our right.

Q: Since we are touching on economic problems, in what condition are the regions which have been the scenes of military operations in the two wars of liberation? What are the problems faced there, and how does the PRA intend to solve them?

NETO: Our economic situation is complex. It is not only the units of production which preoccupy us, but also everything that has to do with the economy: transportation, domestic and foreign trade, and political education of the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25



THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY SENDS PROFOUND CONDOLENCES TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE AND LIBERATION GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEATH OF CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG AND EXTENDS ITS DEEPEST HUMAN EXPRESSION OF INTERCOMMUNAL SOLIDARITY IN MARKING THE 27TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC ON OCTOBER 1, 1976. OUR STRUGGLE IS ONE. ETERNAL GLORY TO CHAIRMAN MAO LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

AFRICA IN FOCUS



Namibia

Officials of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia met last week with U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and said that the American diplomat had been unable to obtain any "meaningful commitment" from South Africa (Azania) regarding the independence of Namibia. Theo-Ben Gurirab, SWAPO's United Nations spokesperson, said that Kissinger's meeting with SWAPO President Sam Nujoma was "... far from satisfactory." African U.N. members supporting SWAPO are demanding that the Security Council impose economic sanctions against South Africa for its failure to grant immediate Black majority rule to the territory.

People's Angola

The foreign minister of the People's Republic of Angola and Portugal met on the Cape Verde Islands last week to discuss resuming diplomatic relations between the two countries. Angolan Foreign Minister Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Portuguese Foreign Minister Jose Medeiros Ferreira were expected to issue a communique announcing the restoration of diplomatic relations at an ambassadorial level. Relations between the two countries have been strained since Angola was liberated from Portuguese colonialism last November 11.

Zimbabwe

Members of the African-American Scholars Council are questioning the motives behind a \$350,000 grant given to the Council by the reactionary Agency for International Development (AID) to study problems of the transition to Black majority rule in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). Members of the Black organization, as well as a representative of the Zimbabwe liberation movement in the U.S., note that the three principal investigators for the AID project are White. According to *Pacific News Service*, Robert Rotberg, one of the three Whites, is a controversial figure in southern Africa for his past activities in gathering intelligence on Black liberation movements.



SAMORA MACHEL

FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS' STATEMENT

"Proposals Would Legitimize Colonialism And Racism"

The following is the text of the statement issued on September 26, 1976, by the five Black frontline Presidents in southern Africa — Samora Machel of Mozambique, Agostinho Neto of Angola, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Seretse Khama of Botswana — concerning the Kissinger-Smith plan for Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

"The struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, the African and international solidarity in the implementation of sanctions and coordinated action of all anticolonialist forces and states have together, brought the isolation and collapse of the illegal racist minority regime in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia.

"The Presidents hailed and congratulated the people and fighters of Zimbabwe whose hard and heroic armed struggle forced the rebel regime and the enemy in general to recognize and accept the inevitability of majority rule, the need to establish immediately a transitional government to implement this principle. Thus the victories achieved by the people of Zimbabwe in their armed struggle created the present favorable conditions for the convening of a constitutional conference.

"This is a victory for all Africa and mankind and particularly for all those countries and peoples who made sacrifices so that the brotherly people of Zimbabwe can be free.

"Now that the pressures of armed struggle have forced the

"WE SUPPORT OUR BROTHERS WHO ARE FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM"

MOZAMBIQUE'S DEFENSE MINISTER SPEAKS OUT ON ARMED STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Following, *THE BLACK PANTHER* presents the conclusion of an interview with Alberto Joaquin Chipanda, Minister of Defense of the People's Republic of Mozambique. We thank Wilfred Burckett from the Guardian for this article.

CONCLUSION

To the question about what the Smith regime hoped to achieve by the increasingly serious attacks inside Mozambique and whether the famous Kissinger formula of "destabilization" was involved, Defense Minister Chipanda answered:

"When we proclaimed independence as the aim of our struggle, we knew what we wanted. When we accepted negotiations with the Portuguese, we knew what we wanted. When we signed the Lusaka agreement (with the Portuguese) we knew what we wanted.

"When we declared our independence, we knew what we wanted. We knew that all this was not the end of our struggle. We had turned one page of history, but there were other pages, other fronts.

"There is the situation here in Mozambique. . . . The military struggle did not touch the whole country—the political struggle did, because repression and political struggle affected the whole country. If we compare the outlook of our people, there is a big difference between the people in the liberated zones where there was armed struggle and those in

enemy to accept majority rule as a condition for immediate independence, the five presidents call upon the colonial authority, the British government, to convene at once a conference outside Zimbabwe with the authentic and legitimate representatives of the people:

"(A) To discuss the structure and functions of the transitional government;

"(B) To establish the transitional government;

"(C) To discuss the modalities for convening a full constitutional conference to work out the independence constitution;

"(D) To establish the basis upon which peace and normalcy can be restored in the territory.

"To achieve these goals two phases are envisaged. The first



ALBERTO JOAQUIN CHIPANDA (inset) led Mozambique's revolutionary armed forces, the feared FRELIMO guerrillas, to liberation.

the other zones where there was none.

"We had experiences of administration in the liberated areas, but the situation is different in areas which did not know armed struggle. The enemy's influence still exists there. In addition to our revolutionary influence and the enemy's hostile influence

phase will deal with the establishment of an African majority transitional government. The second phase will be concerned with working out the details of the Zimbabwe independence constitution.

"The Presidents have carefully studied the proposals as outlined by the illegal and racist regime which, if accepted, would be tantamount to legalizing the colonialist and racist structures of power. Any details relating to the structure and functions of the transitional government should be left to the conference.

"The five Presidents reaffirmed their commitment to the cause of liberation in Zimbabwe and the armed struggle.

"A Luta Continua (The Struggle Continues)." □

there is a third, feudal, traditionalist influence, hostile to our ideas.

"When we took power, what type of power became a question. We had fought for people's power. That is a new concept for many people in Mozambique. We, in FRELIMO, saw that just having power is not enough. Power has to be consolidated to reconstruct the country in line with people's aspirations and in such a way as to have a completely independent economy.

"To do this the question was posed: 'Who are our enemies, who are our friends?' This implied opposing our enemies, developing links of friendship with other peoples. Smith is well aware of this and is out to support every residue and remnant of reactionary forces in our country.

"And, as mentioned earlier, in doing this he acts as the agent of international forces of reaction, whose primary aim is to 'destabilize' our revolution. We are confident that such attempts will be shattered by the unity of our people and the vigilance of our armed forces." □

SPECIAL FEATURE

A HISTORY OF COLONIALISM IN ZIMBABWE

(Zimbabwe) — Cecil Rhodes, the notorious British imperialist and adventurer, is the man who almost singlehandedly stole Zimbabwe (Rhodesia, named after Rhodes) from the Matabele tribe in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Justifying Britain's colonization of southern Africa and brutal repression of the Black people of the area, Rhodes once said:

"My cherished idea is a solution for the social problem, i.e., in order to save the 40,000,000 inhabitants of the United Kingdom (Britain) from a bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced in the factories and mines. The Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists."

Setting out to "save" Britain's 40 million people, Rhodes went to southern Africa and accumulated one of the largest British fortunes by exploiting the Kimberley diamond mines. In 1874, he founded the de Beers mining company, became prime minister of the Cape Colony (now South Africa) in 1890, and plotted the

Anglo-Boer war of 1899.

Earlier, in 1886, Rhodes went to Zimbabwe in pursuit of his dream of building a British empire that would stretch from the Cape (South Africa) to the Mediterranean coast of Africa (Cairo, Egypt). He tricked Chief Lobengula of Zimbabwe's Matabele tribe into signing a contract in which Rhodes pledged to pay 100 pounds sterling every month in exchange for some land on which to prospect for gold. In reality, as Lobengula later discovered, he had given the British colonialists the right to exploit all the minerals in Zimbabwe.

The British then provoked an incident which they used as an excuse to unleash a ferocious war against the Matabele people. The Matabeles fought valiantly to save their homeland, but the greed of the British was overwhelming. Zimbabwe was occupied and later handed over to Rhodes' Chartered Company for exploitation until the country officially became a British colony in 1923.

Following World War II, Britain set out once again to realize Rhodes' dream — this time through the creation of an East "African federation" which would extend from the Ethiopian



Zimbabwean confined in "protected village" as Rhodesian boy scout walks by.

border to Cape Town. In 1953, the White settlers of Nyasaland (now Malawi), Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Zimbabwe established the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland or the Federation of Central Africa, as it was commonly called.

The Federation's sole role was
CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

WORLD SCOPE



Spain

A Spanish guerrilla belonging to ETA, a Basque separatist group, waiting along a downtown Madrid street, opened fire on an approaching automobile with a machine gun last Monday, killing one of King Juan Carlos' chief advisers, the car's chauffeur and three bodyguards. Ten persons were wounded. It was the bloodiest attack against the repressive Spanish regime in the 10 months since the death of longtime dictator Francisco Franco.

Israel

Israeli Arabs from the Galilee region demonstrated in Jerusalem recently to back demands for the dismissal of an Israeli official who recommended measures to curb the growth and influence of the country's Arab population. The Israeli Arab protest, which took the form of a two-hour work stoppage by municipal employees in many communities in Galilee, was in protest of the report by Israel Koenig, the chief Israeli official in the Galilee region, that Israeli Arabs have labeled "fascist" and "racist."

Great Britain

In a desperate attempt to halt the collapse of the pound sterling, Britain announced last week that it will ask the International Monetary Fund for a sizable loan — \$3.8 billion. Any new loan, however, can only amount to a short-term remedy for Britain's sagging economy, which still has debts resulting from a \$5.3 billion loan to the U.S. and nine other countries, due to be repaid in December.

United Nations

The chairman of the General Assembly's Special Committee Against Apartheid, Leslie O. Harriman of Nigeria, appealed to countries not to recognize the Transkei territory of South Africa which, he said, was about to receive "sham independence" on October 26. The Transkei move, Harriman said, "is a part of South Africa's scheme to deprive the African people of their rights to citizenship by relegating them to Bantustans (isolated 'homelands')."



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Young Black Angolan Girl

Young Black Angolan girl
Wandering the streets enveloped
with night
Shocked to see cruel detested
soldiers
Butchering with knives some poor
men
The murderers catch a fleeting
glimpse of her
Frightened girl flees to the safety
of the hills.

A small liberation regiment on
patrol duty
At dawn finds her wandering
among the sun touched hills
In camp they school her
intelligence in Marxist theory
Teach her to efficiently use a
sub-machine gun
They make her a dedicated
Revolutionary soldier.

They enter that small town one
evening
A regiment to liberate these
oppressed people
They execute the cruel detested
soldiers
Free people cheer their minor
liberation day.

Young Black Angolan girl
Wandering the streets of happy
faces at sunset
Hopes for Total Revolution.

Dreams of Total Revolution
Lives for Total Revolution.

This young Black Angolan girl.

Charles Slade,
British Columbia, Canada

WHAT A WONDERFUL WIZ IT IS!

What a wonderful *Wiz* it is!
And what a shame more Black
people, young and old, can't get
in to see this magical, dazzling
all-Black cast production of *The
Wiz* at San Francisco's Curran
Theater.

This year's production — hope-
fully it will be back as long as
youth grows old, and remembers
— sold out its limited seven-
week engagement in one day,
and, as a result, most Black folks
will miss one of the most
enjoyable evenings they could
spend doing anything, anywhere.
Really, it's that good.

The Wiz is a Black musical
version of the classic *The Wizard
of Oz* and it's fantastic, creative,
full of vitality, joy, life and
love.

Imagine, a whirling tornado
performed in the style of an
inspiring Black ballet, the dan-
cers — led by a "wicked witch"
dressed in all-black with the
exception of red boots — and
volumes of black silk circling the
stage as the music from the
orchestra cascades through the
theater.

Imagine Judy Garland's
memorable "Follow the Yellow
Brick Road" transformed into
the jazzy/soulful "Ease On Down
the Road" — and the Yellow Brick
Road that Dorothy follows con-
sisting of four golden Afro
footmen wearing golden tailcoats
and carrying long poles to direct
the child along the way to Emerald
City.

Imagine the Good Witch from

the North emerging from a cloud
of smoke with the cry, "Where
the hell am I?" and then
explaining that her "slave name"
is "Addaperle."

Imagine a starry-eyed Scare-
crow high upon his perch, who,
upon seeing Dorothy pass by, asks,
"Hey baby, you got any spare
change? You know, some loose
bread"; a proud Tinman who
sings "Slide Some Oil To Me" —
"... If you don't have STP/Crisco
be just fine"; a cowardly Lion
who gets busted for lingering too
long in the "poppy fields."

Imagine a cool-breeze *Wiz*,
dressed in a white jumpsuit, who
turns on the residents of Emerald
City to Elton John-style green
glasses.

There's not much more you can



The stars of the hit Black musical *The Wiz* are (left to right) BEN HARNEY (the Tinman), KEN PRYMUS (the Cowardly Lion), REN WOODS (Dorothy) and VALENTINO (the Scarecrow).

Johnny Spain: "... a penetrating probe for truth"



When HUEY P. NEWTON, co-founder and ideologist of the Black Panther Party, disappeared in August, 1974, he left behind his *INSIGHTS* which embody, as Ericka Huggins has said, "a sensitivity and a humanness that make this man, in her opinion, a friend to all people." ERICKA HUGGINS' POEMS are the telling introspective record of her own life during the years since her husband, Jim Huggins, was assassinated in Los Angeles in 1969. Since then she has also co-edited the Black Panther newspaper and is director of the Intercommunal Youth Institute, a model elementary school in Oakland.

INTRODUCTION BY ZENTATSU BAKER-ROSHI
of the San Francisco Zen Center

City Lights Books

By Black Panther Party leader
HUEY P. NEWTON
and
Oakland Community School Director
ERICKA HUGGINS

HUEY
NEWTON
ERICKA
HUGGINS
INSIGHTS
& POEMS

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Oakland, Calif. 94621

say to characterize the rich
beauty, charm and plain old
human warmth of *The Wiz*. The
acting, dancing, songs, are sim-
ply top-notch.

The credits to go many: Renee
Harris (substituting for Ren
Woods) as Dorothy; Valentino as
the Scarecrow; Ben Harney as the
Tinman; Ken Prymus as the Lion,
and Andre DeShields as the *Wiz*,
are knockouts. Vivian Bonnell's
Addaperle, and Ella Mitchell's
"bad witch" Evlene, merit ring-
ing applause.

Mention too, must go to the pit
singers — Marcy Thomas, Cheryl
Lynn, John and William Valen-
tine — who can knock out a song,
and the crowd, like nobody, this
side of Gladys Knight and the Pips.

So, click your heels three times
and believe: I hope I get to see the
Wiz — what a wonderful *Wiz* it
is.

Global Reach—The Power Of The Multinationals

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

State and chairman of Lehman Brothers International, "men are able for the first time to utilize world resources with an efficiency dictated by the objective logic of profit."

The global corporation is the first institution in human history dedicated to centralized planning on a world scale. Because its primary purpose is to organize and to integrate economic activity around the world in such a way as to maximize global profit, the global corporation is an organic structure in which each part is expected to serve the whole.

BOUNDARIES

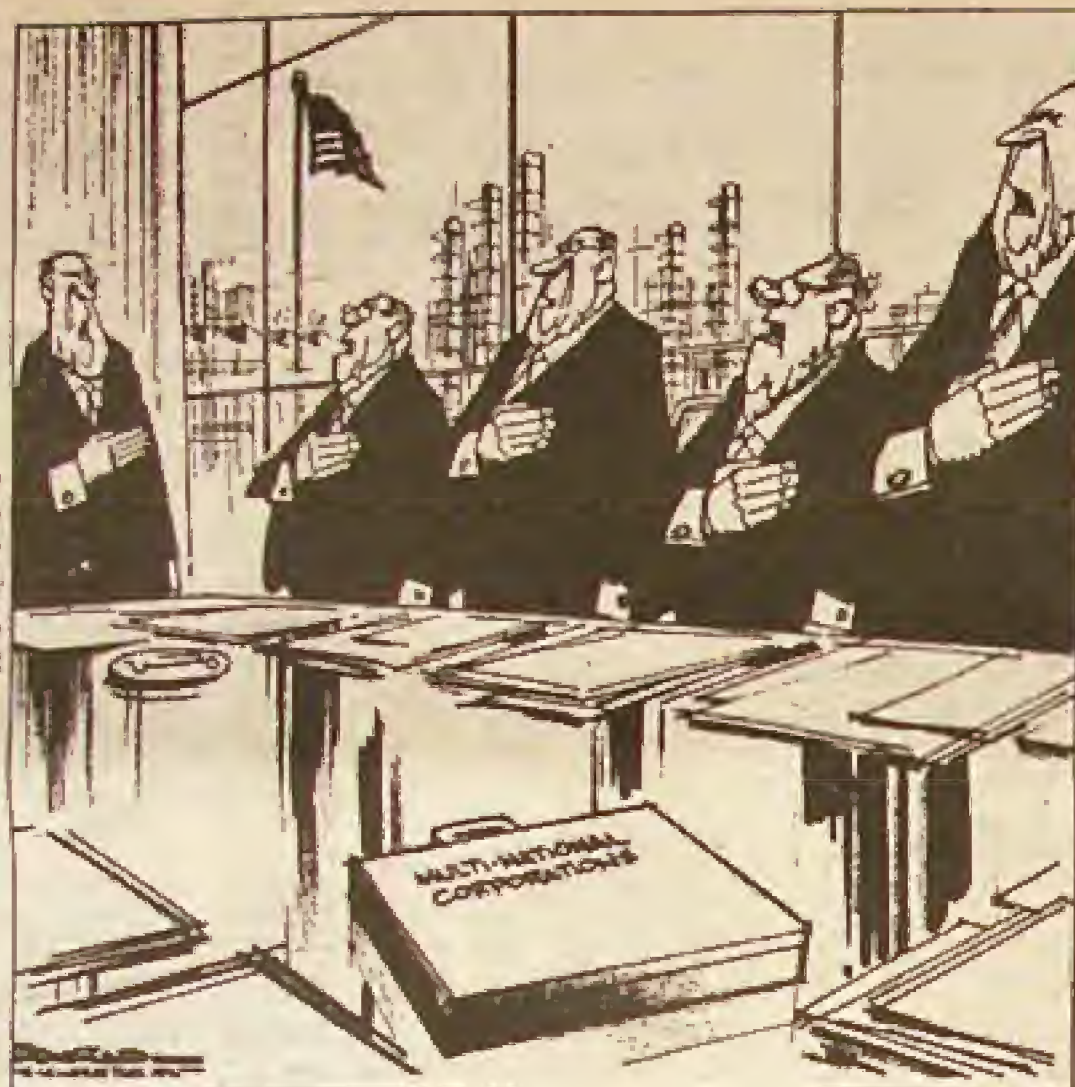
"For business purposes," says the president of the IBM World Trade Corporation, "the boundaries that separate one nation from another are no more real than the equator. They are merely convenient demarcations of ethnic, linguistic, and cultural entities. They do not define business requirements or consumer trends. Once management understands and accepts this world economy, its view of the marketplace — and its planning — necessarily expand. The world outside the home country is no longer viewed as series of disconnected customers and prospects for its products, but as an extension of a single market."

The rise of the planetary enterprise is producing an organizational revolution as profound in its implications for modern man as the Industrial Revolution and the rise of the nation-state itself. The growth rate of global corporations in recent years is so spectacular that it is now easy to assemble an array of dazzling statistics.

If we compare the annual sales of corporations with the gross national product of countries for 1973, we discover that GM is bigger than Switzerland, Pakistan, and South Africa; that Royal Dutch Shell is bigger than Iran, Venezuela, and Turkey; and that Goodyear Tire is bigger than Saudi Arabia. The average growth rate of the most successful global corporations is two to three times that of most advanced industrial countries, including the United States. It is estimated that global corporations already have more than \$200 billion in physical assets under their control.

But size is only one component of power. In international affairs Mao's dictum that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun shocks no one. To those who question their power, corporate

"I pledge my allegiance to the flag of the country that gives me the best deal."



statesmen like to point out that, like the Pope, they have no divisions at their command. The sources of their extraordinary power are to be found elsewhere — the power to transform the world political economy and in so doing transform the historic role of the nation-state. This power comes not from the barrel of a gun but from control of the means of creating wealth on a worldwide scale.

In the process of developing a new world, the managers of firms like GM, IBM, Pepsico, GE, Pfizer, Shell, Volkswagen, Exxon, and a few hundred others are making daily business decisions which have more impact than those of most sovereign governments on where people live; what work, if any, they will do; what they will eat, drink, and wear; what sorts of knowledge schools and universities will encourage; and what kind of society their children will inherit.

PLANETARY ENTERPRISE

Indeed, the most revolutionary aspect of the planetary enterprise is not its size but its worldview. The managers of the global corporations are seeking to put into practice a theory of human organization that will profoundly alter the nation-state system around which society has been organized for over 400 years. What they are demanding in essence is the right to transcend the nation-state, and in the process, to transform it.

"I have long dreamed of buying an island owned by no nation," says Carl A. Gerstacker, chairman of the Dow Chemical Company, "and of establishing the World Headquarters of the Dow company on the truly neutral ground of such an island, beholden to no nation or society. If we were located on such truly neutral ground we could then

really operate in the United States as U.S. citizens, in Japan as Japanese citizens and in Brazil as Brazilians rather than being governed in prime by the laws of the United States. . . We could even pay any natives handsomely to move elsewhere."

It is not hard to understand, however, why American corporate giants, even those whose presidents must still make do with an office in a Park Avenue skyscraper instead of a Pacific island, feel that they have outgrown the American Dream. The top 298 U.S.-based global corporations studied by the Department of Commerce earn 40 per cent of their entire net profits outside the United States. A 1972 study by Business International Corporation, a service organization for global corporations, shows that 122 of the top U.S.-based multinational corporations had a higher rate of profits from abroad than from domestic operations.

Department of Commerce surveys show that dependence of the leading U.S.-based corporations on foreign profits has been growing at an accelerating rate since 1964. In the last ten years it has been substantially easier to make profits abroad than in the U.S. economy. The result has been that U.S. corporations have been shifting more and more of their total assets abroad: about one-third of the total assets of the chemical industry, about 40 per cent of the total assets of the consumer goods industry, about 75 per cent of those of the electrical industry, about one-third of the assets of the pharmaceutical industry are now located outside the United States.

"Investment abroad is investment in America" is the new slogan of the global corporations. □

History Of Colonialism In Zimbabwe

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 20

similar to that of Rhodes' Chartered Company — to promote the economic and political interests of the White settler regime.

The Whites who lived in the Federation were diehard racists, stubbornly unwilling to share any power with the Black people whose land they had stolen. As Black discontent grew and threatened to erupt into fullscale revolution, Britain was faced with a serious dilemma. Either it would support the White supremacist colonialists or give into the demands of the Black majority population.

Never liked by the Black population, the Federation began to crumble in 1963. Its dissolution was followed by the independence of Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) and Malawi in 1964. In Zimbabwe, the White settler regime, headed by Ian Smith, determined that it would not go the way of its northern neighbors — which were ruled by Black governments — and illegally declared the colony "unilaterally independent" of Britain on November 11, 1965. In effect, the Smith government established a White "republic" similar to that in South Africa in which political rights were denied to the majority Black population who were exploited as a cheap source of labor.

Prior to the November, 1965, White settler takeover Zimbabweans, led by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), launched the armed liberation struggle against the White minority government in 1964.

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

Despite the economic sanctions imposed against Rhodesia by the United Nations, in 1975 more than 40 U.S. firms were operating in the breakaway British colony. Largely through American, South African and — prior to the liberation of Mozambique and Angola — Portuguese aid, the Smith regime has been able to survive. In fact, it has thrived.

Faced with defeat by Zimbabwean liberation forces, the minority government has imprisoned 1,500 freedom fighters and has built concentration camps — so-called "protected hamlets" — where nearly one million people have been kidnapped from their homes in a desperate effort to isolate them from the liberation forces.

But the White settlers are on their way out (see articles, page 17) thus bringing to an end nearly a century of British imperialism and repression in Zimbabwe. □

Detroit Police

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

Detroit who charged that the DPOA "wants to turn the inner city into a police state." The city worker, who has worked closely with youth gangs and the police for several years, requested anonymity for fear of his life.

In his conversation with Freed and Cohen, the worker described a recent meeting at police headquarters at which plans were made to feed guns, money and drugs to the Arrow Commands gang and rival Black gangs. The White racist DPOA blames gang violence for the city's skyrocketing crime rate.

Meanwhile, it was revealed that another factor in Young's dismissal of Tannian were his internal disputes with former executive deputy chief of police Frank A. Blount and the disclosure in August that Blount was a target of a federal drug investigation into illegal narcotics activities. Tannian was aware of the investigation but did not tell Young.

Juvenile Justice

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

to conduct an investigation into racially discriminatory practices in private juvenile institutions in the state.

In recent years, individuals and organizations from within the community have demanded that the ranches be closed. While divided on this issue, the grand jury noted the inadequate personal counseling the youths receive as a result of staff shortages. The report also pointed out that because the ranches are located in rural areas, they are unsatisfactory as a means "for teaching youths to cope with their ordinary urban situation."

Among the recommendations of the grand jury are:

- An increasing amount of funds for supervision and counseling of juveniles should be diverted from the Juvenile Probation Department to community-based groups which demonstrate that they have the ability to provide responsible youth services; and

- Institutional racism at Log Cabin Ranch must be ended by: (1) revising existing Civil Service job categories that require counselors at the ranches to possess bachelor of arts degrees, thereby opening the way for more minority counselors to be hired; and (2) the Juvenile Probation Department must "drastically" increase its number of minority employees, particularly in supervisory positions. □

Letters to the Editor

PRISONERS PETITION TO THE U.N.

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

This letter is a progress report concerning the enclosed proposal for a petition before the General Assembly of the United Nations to focus world attention on the plight of prisoners inside U.S. prisons.

In order to help expose the oppression and injustices of the U.S. "justice system" and its highly political nature, we mailed hundreds of these proposals to prisoners in state and federal prisons throughout the U.S. As a preliminary step towards building a broad base of support for the petition, various newspapers and progressive organizations have been helpful in publicizing the proposal. In response to the proposal we have received hundreds of replies, both from prisoners and individuals outside, endorsing the content and purpose of the proposed petition.

The purpose of this letter is two-fold: 1) It is to inform our locked down sisters and brothers that there are many people inside, as well as outside, who are struggling for the same goals and to link up these struggles into a united force; and 2) To explain what steps we are now taking in the process for the actualization of the petition itself.

With respect to the latter we are now:

A) Inside we are asking prisoners to begin writing to us describing the inhuman and brutal conditions under which they are confined (e.g., giving examples of reprisals against themselves or other prisoners for organizing/struggling for human rights such as food and/or work strikes, demanding better conditions, forming prisoners' unions, cultural groups, etc.).

C) We are also in the beginning stages of writing the actual petition which will eventually be submitted before the U.N. and to work out the necessary tactical aspects for best presenting the petition to the U.N. Because of this we are asking for and receiving legal help from attorneys who have experience with and understand international law as well as the operational procedures of the U.N.

D) In the near future the actual petition will be circulated extensively inside as many prisons as possible. Support petitions will also be circulated on the outside. In addition our attorneys will be interviewing those prisoners who have sent us their response in order to collect specific information, testimony and evidence to be utilized as an integral part of the petition before the U.N. Supporting petitions will also be circulated on the outside.

E) We are also requesting that those prisoners who have not already signed the attached proposal endorsement to do so now and return same to us. We will appreciate any suggestions and criticisms you might have regarding the petition and its campaign.

We have received a few criticisms questioning the validity in the usage of the term genocide. Genocide means the organized extermination of a race or group of people (as in the case of Native Americans) but can also include the attempted control of a specific people or ethnic group, nation, etc., that is, the control of their national destiny, aspirations and hopes for their future. (Eg., U.N. Document "Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide 1948", Article:

We believe the prison movement, inside and outside, must be united — Third World and White people. All prisoners are oppressed and only by unity will that oppression be eradicated. But true unity can only come from objectively and truthfully understanding the facts. Different nationalities are oppressed differently and we must recognize the special oppression of Third World people. We must also recognize the oppression of women and gay people and understand the conditions from which it comes.

Victory belongs to those who struggle!

Prisoners Petition to the United Nations
%United Prisoners Union
944 Market Street #508
San Francisco, Ca. 94102

GETTING LOTS OUT OF THE NEWSPAPER

I've been getting lots out of the newspapers that you send to me. Please don't stop.

One of the things that I did get out of your newspaper is that a man needs lots of support from the people on the outside and this I need.

I'm from Los Angeles and it is hard for my family to get up this way to visit me with the buses on strike. I have lost my address book also. Most of my friends have moved or I have lost contact with them.

Now I'm on a maximum unit, and on lots of medication. Also they have classified me as a danger to myself and I need more help. Is it some way you can come to my aid?

Yours truly,

Freddie Lee Taylor
Patton State Hospital
Patton, Ca. 92369

Neto

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

entire population so that it will regain the level of productivity which it always had.

We are living in an urgent situation. We have several operations underway; coffee and sugar, for example, as well as our distribution operation. However, we must also anticipate the long term: the planning of the entire economy must enable us at least to provide for our internal needs. It is easy to imagine how the destruction of more than a hundred bridges, or the reduction of our number of vehicles could seriously disturb the economy by affecting our transport capacity, by road as much as by railway.

One must also emphasize how important it is that our people understand that the level of productivity must be maintained, whereas certain of the least conscious elements of our people thought that, after independence, they would no longer have to work, and that they would be able to rest or devote themselves exclusively to political activity.

Again, concerning the economy, despite its difficulties, and despite the climate, we potentially have the responsibility of surpassing the economic level attained by Portuguese. To be sure, the Portuguese tailored economic development in Angola to their needs and took care not to jeopardize the interests of the mother country.

CONTRACT FARM

What did the Portuguese do? They displaced the contract farm laborers from the center to the north in order to have them work in the fazendas. Now we must solve the problem of population distribution which is connected to purely political considerations involving our way of thinking, our ideology. This means avoiding the division of our country into tribal zones. The center, more heavily populated, is the region which furnished a large portion of the country's manpower, and it is part of our duty to forge a single, true nation by overcoming tribal boundaries.

Everyone must be able to work everywhere where it is necessary. However, it is not a matter of working solely because the party has issued an appeal, for the stakes are much more important than that. It is a question of convincing every citizen that he or she must work wherever this is necessary and possible. We are mobilizing the people for the coffee harvest, which is an urgent necessity, but the strategic goal of this mobilization goes beyond this specific priority.

TO BE CONTINUED

THE TALKING IS OVER!!!

